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THE EXCAVATIONS AT
DURA-EUROPOS

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THE

Excavations at Dura-Europos

CONDUCTED BY

YALE UNIVERSITY AND THE FRENCH ACADEMY

OF INSCRIPTIONS AND LETTERS

Preliminary Report of First Season of Work Spring 1928

EDITED BY

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President of Yale University

New Haven · Yale University Press

LONDON · HUMPHREY MILFORD · OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS

1929

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Printed in the United States of America

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PREFACE

For the past two years Yale University, in coöperation with the French Academy of Inscriptions and Letters, has been conducting a systematic exploration of the ruins of the buried city of Dura-Europos on the Euphrates. The Syrian Government kindly gave its consent to these excavations and has arranged in a very generous manner for the division of such finds as may properly be preserved for study and museum display. The French Government, in its exercise of the Syrian Mandate, has also offered invaluable assistance. For all of these courtesies, we are under deep obligation.

The papers in the present volume constitute a preliminary report on the achievements and discoveries of the first season of work. It is hoped to carry forward the explorations until the larger part of the ruins are exposed and a correct impression of the city and its buried treasures is secured. The finds already made lead us to cherish the liveliest anticipations of what the future work may disclose.

M. Maurice Pillet, the distinguished French architect and archaeologist, who writes a general report of the campaign thus far, is field director of the expedition. Professor M. I. Rostovtzeff, who discusses the Greek and Latin inscriptions and the monuments already discovered, Professor Charles C. Torrey, who translates and comments upon two Palmyrene inscriptions, and Professor P. V. C. Baur, who describes a bas-relief of Hercules, are all members of the faculties of Yale University. Professor Franz Cumont, who presents an interpretation of the bas-relief of Nemesis, is a distinguished member of the French Academy, and was connected with Yale University, where he gave a course

of lectures published by the Yale University Press. M. Raymond Koechlin, the eminent authority on Mussulman art, especially Mussulman pottery, has long been connected with the Museum of the Louvre. Dr. Clark Hopkins and Mr. Jotham Johnson have rendered extremely valuable service as scientific assistants to M. Pillet in the actual work of excavation in the season of 1928-29. Many of the matters presented in this volume owe much to their collaboration.

It is at once a pleasure and an obligation gratefully to acknowledge the kind offices exercised in a variety of ways on our behalf by the following: The Haut Commissaire de la Syrie et du Liban, the General Commandant Supérieur des Troupes du Levant, the General Commandant des Régions Nord de la Syrie, the Directeur du Service des Antiquités de la Syrie et du Liban, M. Ch. Virolleaud.

We are under great obligation to the General Education Board, which several years ago gave to Yale, in common with several other universities, resources with which to promote the interests of humanistic studies. Yale has chosen to invest a large part of the funds thus accorded to her in these efforts at Dura to secure a fuller and more revealing insight into the history and culture of the Hellenistic-Roman period in the eastern Mediterranean. The stimulating effect of the undertaking upon the entire area of humanistic studies here at Yale is unmistakable. We hope through publications such as this to enable others to share with us in these benefits.

James R. Angell
President, Yale University.

New Haven, Connecticut,
May 11, 1929.

Fig. 1.

Clay tessera of Palmyra showing a gate of the fortifications of Palmyra

(Coll. of Mr. Cl. Prost; drawing of M. Pillet)

I

THE ORGANIZATION OF THE YALE EXPEDITION TO DURA

INTRODUCTORY NOTE BY THE EDITORS

After the excavations at Dura by Mr. F. Cumont had come to a definite close in 1923 it was the earnest desire of all interested, historians, epigraphists, and archaeologists, that the work should be resumed, especially since Cumont had cleared only a little ground. The temple of the Palmyrene gods and the temple of Artemis had not been completely excavated and only one house had been thoroughly investigated. This was the reason why Professor Rostovtzeff suggested to the Yale Committee on Excavations that the work be taken up again by Yale University and the French Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres.

Before any money was available for starting the real work of excavation the President of Yale University and the Committee decided to ask M. Pillet to go to Syria in order to inspect the site, to study the conditions and to come to an agreement with the Syrian Government. This was done in the late spring of 1927. The results of Pillet's investigations were very satisfactory, and he returned with a most successful report and an agreement with the Syrian Government. At the same time the French Academy of Inscriptions agreed to collaborate with Yale University on condition that the excavations be taken up again.

Early in 1928 the President of Yale University succeeded in getting from the Educational Board a grant of money which guaranteed the successful prosecution of the excavations for three years. It was decided to appoint M. Pillet as field director and two scientific directors, one a member of Yale University and the other a member of the French Academy. Professors Rostovtzeff and Cumont were appointed. Furthermore, it was decided to start the excavations in the spring of 1928 in order to prepare the work for a longer and fuller campaign of 1928-29.

In accordance with the decision of Yale University and our Committee, M. Pillet spent the month of January, 1928, in purchasing the necessary material and the outfit for the camp. On February 20 he started alone for Syria and arrived at Beirut eight days later. He left Beirut March 12, delayed by the late arrival of the material for the excavation. At Aleppo he was detained by continuous rain and did not reach Salihiyeh until April 3. On April 14 Professor and Mrs. Rostovtzeff and Professor Cumont arrived. M. Seyrig, the secretary of the French School at Athens, was also present for several days. The actual excavations began April 13 and were brought to a close on May 6.

The personnel of the expedition consisted of M. Pillet, field director, his secretary M. Duchange, former sergeant of the French army, a cook, a chauffeur, and a supervisor of the workmen. Duchange rendered very important services to the expedition from start to finish, but it was necessary to change cooks many times because of dishonesty and inefficiency.

The work was carried out by native Arab workmen who were recruited with the help of the officers of the Intelligence Department (Service des Renseignements) of the region, and especially with the assistance of Captain Taguet, commander at Abu Kemal and Meyadine. In addition to the local Arabs there was employed a detachment of forty men of the Syrian Legion under the command of the French adjutant Lau Bégué, who supervised the work at the Palmyrene Gate and who rendered most important services to the expedition. The order in the camp and the policing of the camp was done by ten *gardes mobiles* who were commanded by the brigadier Saleh Hamech.

During the first season of work it was impossible to instal the railroad, which had not arrived in time, and so the work was carried out by means of shovels, picks, crowbars, and baskets. The Syrian Legion had its own tools. The dig was greatly handicapped because it was started late in the season, when it was difficult to procure a sufficient

supply of native workmen and when the sand storms made the work difficult.

After the close of the excavations the most valuable tools and also the most important antiquities discovered were transported to Deir-ez-Zor and were deposited in a house which the expedition rented and which is being guarded by the military authorities of Deir-ez-Zor. The altars of the Palmyrene Gate were protected by a stone wall built around them.

There was no division of the finds between the Syrian Government and the Yale Expedition as is the agreement. This has been postponed until the end of the second season of excavation.

II

GENERAL REPORT ON THE CAMPAIGN OF SPRING 1928

BY M. PILLET, FIELD DIRECTOR

Fig. 2.
Aërial photograph of Dura-Europos. 1926

1. THE GATES AND THE ROADS OF DURA-EUROPOS

In the present condition of the site of Dura-Europos we know of only one gate, that which opens to the west toward the desert, in the direction of Palmyra, and for this reason we call it "Palmyrene Gate" or "Monumental Gate"[1] (the Air-View, Fig. 2, and the Plan, Fig. 3). Colonel

[1] F. Cumont (Colonel Renard), *Fouilles de Doura-Europos,* pp. 12-16, and Fig. 6, p. 12. Atlas, Pls. XV and XVI.

Renard thought that this was the only gate in the whole circuit wall, but Cumont[1] was right in hunting for another gate and placed it in the south breach of the wall through which the present road from Abu Kemal passes. Last April we discussed the question on the site with Mr. Rostovtzeff and Mr. Cumont; I confess that for my part I can see no reason for believing in the existence of an antique gate at this point. The line of the modern road, very steep and winding, could only be laid out by cutting into the antique wall and by digging a deep hollow in the rock.

Arriving from Deir-ez-Zor, at the northwest, the modern road crosses the wall of the town through a breach where no vestige of an antique gate is visible, then takes a steep slope leaving the town on the right (west and southwest), runs along the citadel on its southwestern face and rises again to the antique southeast wall which it crosses through a breach, then descends into the ravine at the south.

The breaches in the circuit wall through which the modern road passes are at points where the ruins were lowest above ground. Now if these breaches had once marked the sites of gates, even though they may have been of much less importance than the Palmyrene, there would have been left on the ground a great mass of material, but not the slightest trace of such evidence has been found at either of the two breaches.

On the other hand, it must not be forgotten that the configuration of the site of Dura has changed much since the time it was abandoned. Roads and streets on the steep slope are now turned into ravines and the entire northeastern front, bordering on the banks of the Euphrates, has been carried off by that stream, whose swift current has largely cut away its cliff and has destroyed perhaps half of the citadel.

Dura-Europos not only guarded the road from Ctesiphon to Antioch or Palmyra, but also commanded the great line of transit on the Euphrates. The desert meant for Dura the coming and going of caravans moving from west to east, or *vice versa,* but the most important part of its commerce depended upon the river, then navigable, and it was that river alone which furnished its water supply.

It is then on the side of the river that we must seek the other gates, for elsewhere the walls have neither been sufficiently destroyed nor are they buried under the sand deep enough to conceal anything but very unassuming posterns.

[1] *Ibid.,* p. 15.

One of these means of access to the river is very distinct even today, it is that which now marks a ravine continuing the main street of the town which starts from the Palmyrene Gate. This ravine crosses the plateau in a northeasterly direction, leaves the interior redoubt to the east, cuts the modern road at its lowest point and ends at the cliff which is here not very high above the alluvial banks of the Euphrates.

This ravine is nothing more than a street of the ancient city, once bordered, in steplike arrangement, by houses from the plateau to the present cliffs of the river, but now entirely washed out by heavy rains.

The northwestern part of the town seems to have had a street nearly parallel to that of the center, and ending at the Euphrates. The breach in the wall at the foot of the northeast bastion of the citadel may represent the ruins of an antique postern.

The line of the antique road from Ctesiphon to Nicephorium and Antioch or Palmyra remains, on the contrary, problematic, but I am inclined to think that it passed along the northeastern face of the citadel and is now washed away by the Euphrates.

The line of the modern road varies considerably from that of ancient times, because the river has changed its course since then, and has cut perpendicular cliffs without leaving room for a road. The ancient road must have followed the valley as long as was practicable. If, however, it was obliged to ascend the plateau northwest of Dura, it may have descended again into the valley on arrival at the town itself. In this case the northwest ravine dominated by the ramparts of the town may be all that remains of the road.

The ancient road probably encircled the town from west to east. Upon its arrival at the west angle of the town (Tower No. 3) it was probably divided into two directions: that of the east descending to the Euphrates *via* the present northern ravine, and that of the southwest following the wall toward the desert, crossing the main road to Palmyra as it leaves the Palmyrene Gate, then continuing to the southwest bastion (Tower No. 14) it descended, leaving the southeastern ramparts to the left. Where it was steep it was probably transformed into the deep southern ravine which cuts the road to Abu Kemal (see Plan, Fig. 3).

An important ancient vestige seems to testify in favor of this layout of the road, namely, the ruined tower situated about 1,800 meters to the northwest of the circuit wall of Dura.[1]

[1] Cumont (and Colonel Renard), *Fouilles*, p. 274. Atlas, Pl. C, 1 and 2.

To my mind it is not "the remains of a tower-shaped tomb." Its rectangular plan, about 22 m. × 11 m., the large size of the stone blocks, and especially the remains of a small gateway preserved on the east side led me to call it a triumphal arch, like those which the Romans erected throughout their vast empire: a principal arch flanked by two small arches for foot-passengers.

At first sight, its presence on the plateau, now deserted, is baffling, but is soon explained when we note the remains of neighboring sepulchral towers and triumphal arches. Here, as at Palmyra and at Gerasa, they were erected along the principal street, and the triumphal arch preceded the entrance to the town. A careful clearing of the base of this structure would show, without doubt, the complete plan of this decorative monument, and some of the large sculptured blocks would furnish, perhaps, fragments of the dedicatory inscription.

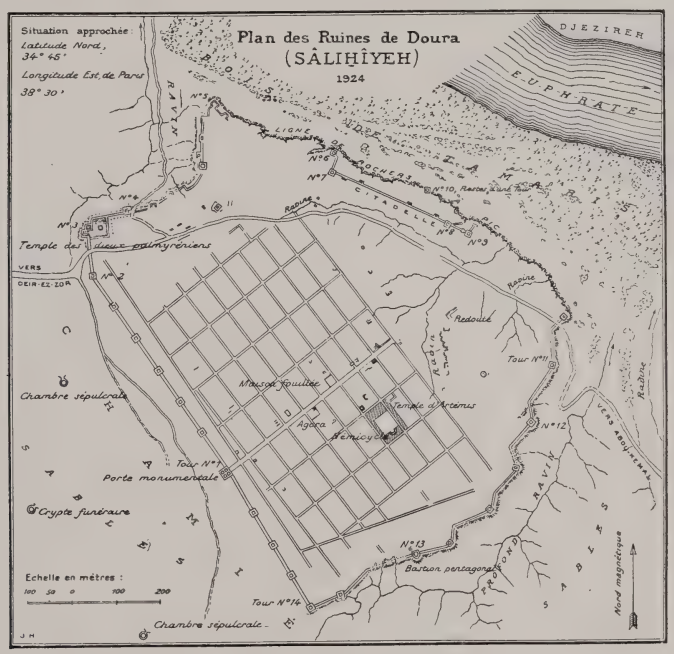


Fig. 3.

Plan of the city of Dura-Europos

(F. Cumont, *Fouilles de Doura-Europos*, Pl. II.)

2. THE FORTIFICATIONS OF DURA-EUROPOS

As Cumont[1] has very well said: "The military engineers had only to complete the work of nature. They closed the side facing the desert, crowned the crest of the ravines by a solid inclosure wall, decorated with many towers, and they erected at the summit of the rocks, bathed by the Euphrates, a massive citadel with defensive fortifications."

The town, isolated at the border of the desert and dominating the valley of the Euphrates, had especially to fear the raids of nomads, but its ramparts were capable of resisting all attack.

Facing the desert, there is a rectilinear rampart reinforced with square bastions and pierced by but one gate; one or more ditches must have protected the approach, but at the present day they are filled with sand.

At the two ends this long inclosure wall, taking advantage of the abrupt ravines, descended toward the Euphrates, so that on this side too the town was protected by a series of towers and curtains in broken line, where up to now no gate has been discovered.

Now that the bastions and towers are partly buried and uncrowned, their appearance is squatty and clumsy, but originally they were of tall and slender proportions like those illustrated on the curious graffito discovered by Cumont[2] in the temple of the Palmyrene Gods. Our partial clearing of the Palmyrene Gate and of the northwest bastion has confirmed this.

On the high cliff dominating the Euphrates for some 50 or 60 meters a powerful fortress or citadel was erected, which defended the town on the riverside and served as a place of retreat if the town fell into the hands of the enemy. Its walls, surmounting the ridge of the cliff, unfortunately fell down with it on nearly the whole northeast face.

Lastly, an interior redoubt was erected at the east of the town (Pl. III, 1) inside the eastern part of the inclosure wall. Its use seems rather obscure unless we admit that it represents the early fortification of the Macedonians, and that it was abandoned after the construction of the citadel.

The rock of this desert is a poor quality of limestone, composed of

[1] *Fouilles,* p. 2; Colonel Renard, "Les fortifications de Doura Europos," *Syria,* V (1924), 24 ff.

[2] *Op. cit.,* p. 13, Fig. 7.

strata of very unequal resistance (Pl. III, 2), sometimes powdery and sometimes half-hard.

The engineer of Dura did not ignore the possibility that these cliffs could easily be climbed; he therefore surmounted them with a rampart, the smooth face of which even the most agile could not scale. The line of the ramparts is uniformly composed of rectilinear curtains reinforced by square towers, even on the south side where the curtain is so formed as to resemble the teeth of a saw. Only the pentagonal bastion (No. 13) of the southeast face is an exception, and forms on the exterior an obtuse angle.

The construction of the fortifications, which are in local stone of rather poor quality bonded with mortar, presents some noteworthy peculiarities.

The base of the towers, thicker than the upper part, is reinforced on the inside by walls of unbaked brick. At the Tower of the Archers (No. 4) and that of the Palmyrene Gods (No. 3) Cumont had already noticed these walls of unbaked brick at the base of the towers, and we have found them even at the Palmyrene Gate. Their thickness, of more than one meter, reduces considerably the space in their lower rooms. It is, without doubt, because of this lack of space that no means of communication, stairs or ramp, exists between the ground floor and the rooms of defense in the upper stories. At the citadel, as at the Palmyrene Gate, and at the Tower of the Archers (No. 4) it was evidently with the aid of ladders placed on the outside that they reached the openings of the upper rooms. All the defense of the ramparts, as of the citadel, was thus concentrated in the upper stories, without communication with the ground.

On the other hand there are in the fortifications of Dura only five arches, all semicircular, and which are used only for gates; three in the citadel and two in the Palmyrene Gate, of which one, entirely ruined, has only its coping visible.

The triumphal arch of the northwest must have had three, of which there remains only a part of one.

As regards the gate of the Palmyrene Tower (No. 3) its pointed arch should not mislead us, because it is only a coating, of perhaps later date, which gives it this form. It is constructed on the corbel principle, and its original shape was triangular. Everywhere else, that is to say, for the small doors, the arch is replaced by these courses of successive corbeling of the Mycenaean style (witness the door to the tomb of "Aga-

memnon"). In the interior their form is triangular, whereas on the exterior the triangular opening is closed by a lintel surmounted by a tympan.

There are no arches in the lower parts of the towers. The floor of the upper stories was supported by large square beams, over which was placed a wattling of wood and reeds covered with a thick layer of earth and, without doubt, a coating of mortar plaster or of lime mixed with small bits of pottery.

The Tower of the Archers (No. 4), that of the Palmyrenes (No. 3) the south tower of the Palmyrene Gate, and the northwest bastion of the citadel show the same arrangement and consequently all are of the same date.

In the first story the towers are about 1 m. thick and the joists of the floor rest at each end on the free part of the wall, whereas the joists of the rooms of the second story are, on the contrary, fitted at each end into the walls.

In the present state of the ruins we do not know if the rooms of the second story were covered with a roof.

A road of patrol must have circulated on top of all the ramparts and must have communicated with the towers and bastions. The thickness of the walls is sufficient for such a road, which was protected by a battlement of breastworks.

The date of the construction of the entire fortification still remains undetermined. Only one name engraved near the northwest bastion of the citadel has been, up to the present, discovered. The complete clearing of the Palmyrene Gate, and the deciphering of the numerous graffiti inscribed on its walls may give us the earliest date of its construction. Up to now we cannot go farther back than the first century A.D., but we cannot conclude, therefore, that the fortification was not Seleucid.[1]

3. THE PALMYRENE GATE

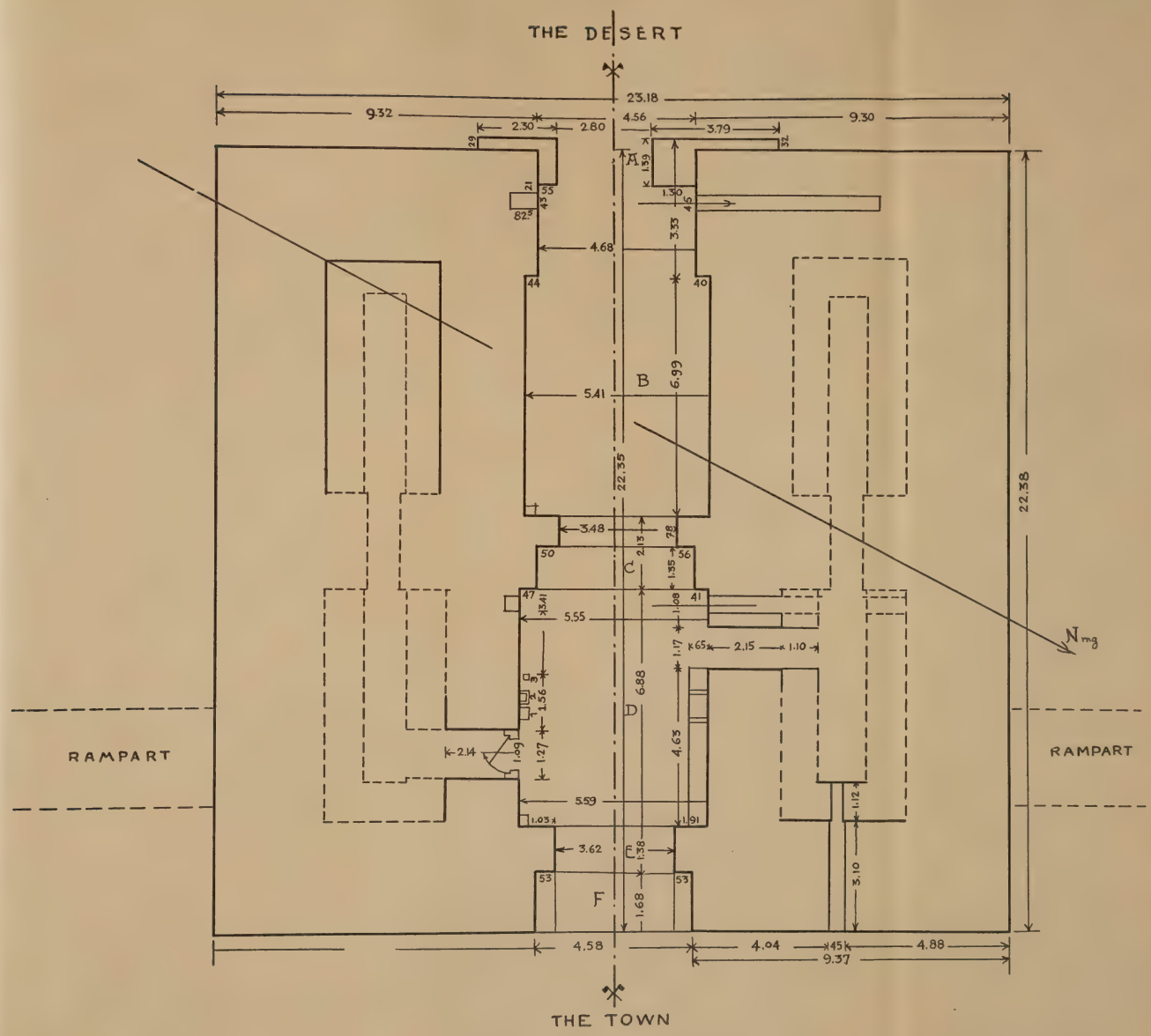
1. *The appearance.*

The only gate of Dura, known up to now, had not been cleared before the campaign of this year (Pl. II, 1).

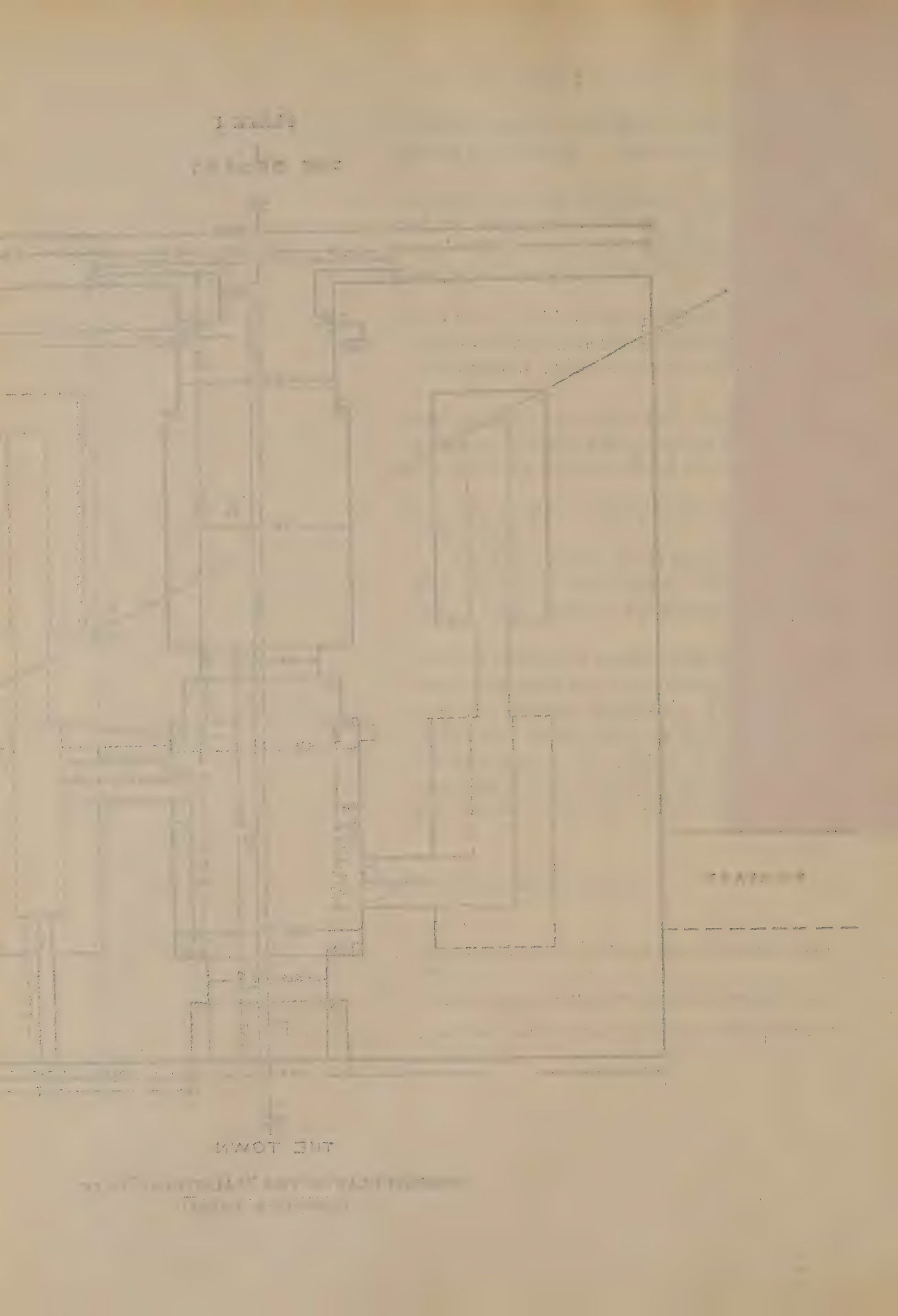
It represented, in April, 1928, two rectangular bastions united by a

[1] Cumont, *Fouilles*, pp. 22-24, and the results of the excavations of the spring of 1928.

PLATE I



SKETCH-PLAN OF THE "PALMYRENE" GATE
(DRAWN BY M. PILLET)



central arch and was superior to the other towers of the western circuit wall only in its imposing mass, in spite of its being half buried.

The walls, in stones of quite large size, are still in rather good condition, but the upper part of the towers and one arch have disappeared; landslides and big cracks have destroyed the corners. In examining it more closely we see that the disintegration comes largely from the pressure exerted on the walls by the masses of earth that fill the towers. This accumulation comes from the ceilings of earth and wood as well as from sand storms.

Rain has also deteriorated the upper parts of the ruined walls in a curious manner. Under its and the sun's action, the coating of calcareous plaster has expanded so that it bulges out in thick, spongy crusts of lime which conceal the joints of construction in the faces of the wall. Apart from this wear and tear of time the hand of man has done no damage, so that its condition of conservation is relatively good.

2. *The excavation.*

The clearing of the central passage of this gate has been almost finished by a detachment of the Syrian legion, who have worked at this point from the thirteenth of April to the tenth of May, 1928. Besides, from the second to the ninth of May a considerable gang of native workmen has commenced the clearing of the south tower of the gate. This work, carried out from above so as not to destroy the archaeological stratum and to avoid dangerous landslides, has been stopped about 2 m. below the ground of the first story.

3. *Description* (See Plan on Plate I).

The Palmyrene Gate, or Monumental Gate,[1] forms an almost perfect square, 22.35 m. × 23.18 m., in the direction of northwest to southeast, that is to say, parallel to the wall facing the desert. Its two towers or bastions, erected on the rectangular plan, measure 22.35 m. in length by 9.30 m. in breadth, and leave between them a passage with an average width of 5.50 m., reduced, moreover, by its three doors (A, C, E).

These doors, one behind the other, are broader and broader as one advances from the outside toward the town. The first one, on the side of the desert (southwest), flush with the walls of the towers, is 2.80 m. wide and must have been closed by a wooden double door reinforced by a horizontal closing-bar. It did not, like the others, have a stone arch and con-

[1] Cumont, *Fouilles,* pp. 12-15, and Figs. 6 and 7. Atlas, Pls. XV and XVI.

siderable fragments of its lintels, formed of logs, have been discovered. The two piers of masonry are only partly preserved, and it is probable that this door was not contemplated in the original plan. It seems to have had but little defensive value. This was not the case with the two following ones.

The second gate is situated exactly in the middle of the passage. Its piers, surmounted by a semicircular arch, are 2.13 m. thick, and the arch itself supported a wall which, if one considers the ruins and the graffito discovered by Cumont[1] assured the defense of the gate and the connection of the rooms of the second story of the north and south towers. The top of the arch is 8.32 m. above the pavement, and the height of the wall which surmounts it is about 12.05 m. (Pl. II, 1).

Below the lowest voussoirs of the arch there still exist the fittings for the lintel-beams, and it is almost certain that a wall above the lintel closed the bay of the arch, so as to stop the missiles of the enemy and to prevent them from scaling the walls.

Further, the double doors of the gates were all rectangular, because, not only are traces of lintels visible, as we have said, but also the arches are semicircular without back-voussoirs, which would have been necessary in case of wooden doors swinging in the rounded bays.

At the second gate there exist, as in the first one, the fittings for a horizontal closing-bar.

At Beirut, Mr. Claude Prost has kindly lent me one of his works in manuscript, entitled "Palmyre, Plan et relevé topographique de Palmyre, Description de ses monuments." I have noticed there the drawing of a tessera,[2] of which he has shown me the original, and which he has very kindly permitted me to publish (Vignette, Fig. 1).

This tessera, in terra cotta (D. 0.021 m.) has on one side a lion leaping over a fleeing deer, whereas another deer already lies on the ground. The other side represents the gate of a fortified town, Palmyra, no doubt. This side is interesting not only because of the comparison it offers with the fortification of Dura and the graffito which illustrates them, but also because of the similarity which it seems to indicate between the defenses of Dura and those of Palmyra, today entirely destroyed.

The gate figured on this tessera is rectangular, closed by a double door with a horizontal crosspiece placed over it. This is surmounted by

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 13, Fig. 7.

[2] Chap. VIII. Tessères Palmyréniennes, avec une notice de M. l'abbé J. B. Chabot.

1. VIEW OF THE "PALMYRENE" GATE
8 MAY 1928

2. THE THREE ALTARS OF THE PALMYRENE GATE

3. ENTRANCE-GATE INTO THE SOUTH TOWER
21 APRIL 1928

a crenelated wall, and flanked by two rectangular towers, also crenelated. Each tower has a window in the second story.

Behind this gate are two other towers with windows and battlements, united by a curtain. The objects represented at the right and left side of the towers lead me to think that it represents a gate situated on the other side of the town, and not of a second wall.

The gates in timber-work and their method of closing.

It seems that the first gate (A) as well as the second (C) may have had folding doors, for the second door-opening, about 4.60 m., would have been very wide for a single door. However, nothing would have prevented the importation of wood necessary for a door of this width.

The remains on the spot are those of pine logs which must come, as they do today, from Asia Minor, floated in rafts down the Euphrates. If the central gate (C) had but a single leaf it must have opened against the wall of the south tower, for had it opened on the other side it would have concealed the little door leading to the north tower. Since the passage is not yet entirely cleared the exact position of these wooden doors has not been determined with certainty, for the hinges or sockets, which must still exist, have not yet been discovered.

We have indicated provisionally in the Plan (Pl. I) the probable place of these doors A and C, but the fittings for the beams in the wall would seem to indicate that both were placed back of the piers. There is, however, only a little distance of 0.18 m. to 0.20 m. between the closing-bars and the piers, but the thickness of the doors with their crossbars or framework must have been greater.

In this predicament, it is necessary to suppose for the second gate (C) that the closing-bar had rods and stays bracing and reinforcing the door itself. This mode of closing was probably not used except in case of siege.

However that may be, the fittings intended for the closing beams are about the same for both gates (A and C). Both of these beams were probably inserted in the north tower and fastened in a hole made in the south tower.

The bar or beam of the first gate slipped into a rectangular opening of about 0.40 m. broad and 0.50 m. high. The hole in the south wall is 0.81 m. deep, and in the north tower the beam had play-room in an opening made in the thickness of the wall. That of the second gate (C) passed, on the contrary, into an opening 0.34 m. broad and 0.28 m.

high; it penetrated only 0.40 m. into the south wall, and in the north tower the beam passed freely into a shallow space. This, however, cannot be completely verified until the excavation is finished.

For the first gate the entrance of the sliding-bar in the north tower is intact, and shows that two pegs or pins were inserted at the end of the beam to keep it in place. The first, horizontal, 0.75 m. long and 0.10 m. thick, must have been placed in a groove hollowed in the top of the beam. It must have been about 0.30 m. broad because a second pin 0.15 × 0.18 m. penetrated it, as well as the whole beam, vertically. The principal pin extended beyond the underside of the beam, for a socket was arranged in the stone for this purpose. This made it possible to strike the pin from below and to pull it out, at the same time lifting up the horizontal pin to free the beam. The beam was firmly kept in place by this means and its insertion in the walls at both ends gave it great power of resistance.

For the third gate (E), situated at the entrance to the town, the question of the place of its folding doors cannot be decided until after its complete excavation. Its arch and the wall which surmounts it are, in fact, completely destroyed; today there are visible only the ruins of the arch, and the bare face of the towers toward the town.

The road of patrol which passed over the top of the wall of this gate, 3.04 m. broad, gave communication between the stories of the two towers, probably by a staircase of which there seems to be traces in the east corner of the north tower.

If the leaf of this door was single, it turned on a pivot in the opposite direction to that of the central gate (C), in order to keep the entrance to the south tower clear.

The space which separates the two gates (C and E) is 6.86 m. long and 5.57 m. broad. Two little posterns open there giving access to the lower rooms of the towers; that of the north tower is near the central gate, that of the south is near the eastern gate (Pl. I).

Granting the little military importance that the lower rooms of the tower present for defense, on account of their obstruction by the walls of unbaked brick, the position of the posterns was probably dependent upon the location of the large gates, whose doors were turned back when they were opened, that of the central gate to the south and the other to the north.

The north postern is 1.17 m. broad and about 2.10 m. high; the thickness of the walls of the tower is here 2.16 m. and they are reinforced at

the back by a wall of unbaked bricks. If it had a wooden door, which is not certain, it must have been set on the inner wall of the tower. Toward the eastern gate, built against the north tower, there is a ledge of masonry with two small projections forming a seat above which, among several others, is the inscription of a *beneficiarius tribuni*. It is here, then, in the lower room of the north tower that the guard of the gate kept watch.

Opposite, on the contrary, were erected the altars dedicated to the gods (Pl. II, 2), with a long series of ex-votos of the garrison; and the postern which opens into the tower was itself surmounted by a fresco of which there remains only very faint traces on a fragment of the stucco coating (Pl. II, 3).

Originally, the width of the south postern (Pl. I) was 1.27 m. and at this place the wall of the bastion was 2.14 m. thick. It is nearly certain that at the time of its construction this passage was not closed by a door, for, at a later time, one was placed there by erecting two door jambs and a lintel at the entrance of the passage. The door opened against its west wall. Above, perhaps a little penthouse was supported by the coping of which the fittings still remain.

This arrangement dates to Roman times, as is proved not only by the above-mentioned fresco and by an inscription of a *beneficiarius,* but also by the graffiti on the wall itself under the coating, which go back to an earlier time.

Back of this door pine logs mixed with stones are piled up forming a powerful barrier, which now holds up the earth accumulated in the tower. I am tempted to believe that this was a measure of defense taken at the last siege of the place, and this hypothesis is confirmed by the remnants of arms found before this door.

The discoveries.

In clearing this passage, which is only two meters square, a number of objects came to light: fragments of wood from the gate, reeds, arms, lamps, and lastly, on April 23, a shield partly crushed and slightly burned (Fig. 4).

This shield, rectangular in shape, 1.55 m. high and 0.80 m. broad, is formed of round wooden rods held together by thick leather through which they are inserted, making on each side triangular strips of "W" shape, of which the outside strokes are prolonged and flare. Above and

below, the leather was turned over and sewed on the ends of the wooden rods, which are a little longer in the center.

The handle and the remnants of its attachment on the back of the shield have also been found at the same time and place. The work was done in fresh leather, or previously soaked, and when dry gave to the whole great resistance. The leather of this shield, in a single piece, does

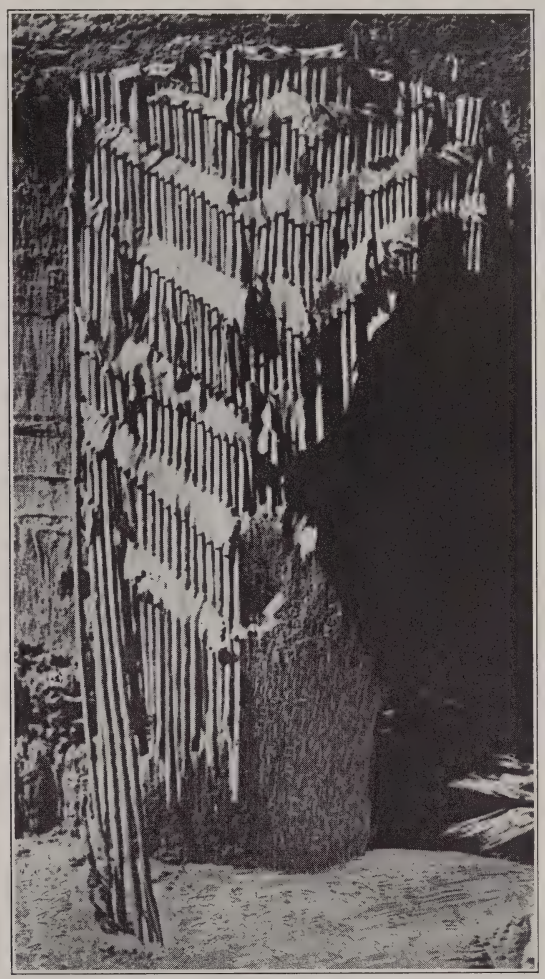


Fig. 4.
Shield found in the passage of the south postern
23 April 1928

not seem to have been decorated with paintings or inscriptions. It is a simple and strong weapon of defense. To date it would be important, for it seems to come from the last siege of Dura.

Further, two arrows of hard wood, similar to those already found by Cumont[1] in the Tower of the Archers, have been discovered near the shield, as well as arrows of reeds, now broken. The wooden arrows measure, respectively, 0.377 m. and 0.342 m. in length by 0.025 m. and 0.03 m. in their greatest width. They are not, properly speaking, arrows, that is to say, projectiles shot from a bow, but quite surely were darts shot with the aid of a weapon for throwing, resembling a crossbow or a hand-ballista, provided with a groove in which the projectile rested. They are, indeed, clumsy and stumpy projectiles supplied with only two wooden feathers, diametrically opposite, and are too short to be thrown from an ordinary bow.

Lastly, among the martial remains, we have found on April 17 the first lamp ever brought to light at Dura where, however, a graffito discovered by Cumont (Inscription No. 20 *bis*, p. 383) was evidence of their existence. Later, five more were found under the eastern arch, and a fragmentary one in the northwest tower of the citadel.

They are all in terra cotta, of small size, and pale yellow except the one from the citadel, which is blackish. They are of the Graeco-Roman type, oblong, with a little projection forming the handle, a central opening to pour in the oil and a single hole for the wick; the total length is about 0.09 m. to 0.10 m. and the greatest width from 0.06 m. to 0.07 m. They are molded in two pieces, and are of rather coarse workmanship. Three of those found at the Palmyrene Gate are identical, and have on the upper side a sort of flame starting from the wick-hole. Near the handle are three projecting points. The one discovered at the citadel, much finer, but broken, has a garland of laurel. There are on these objects neither inscription nor trade-mark.

Bas-relief of Heracles. The first bas-relief (Fig. 5) was discovered on April 20 near the south pier of the eastern gate where traces of its fastening can still be seen.

It is in rather fine white limestone, and a Greek inscription (see p. 47, No. 1), quite illegible and damaged, is cut on the plinth. The relief, of which, unfortunately, the upper half is missing, represents Heracles holding a lion's skin in his hand. The fragment is 0.21 m. high, 0.23 m. broad, and 0.13 m. thick.

[1] *Fouilles*, pp. 260-261, and Atlas, Pl. XCVII, 1 and 2.

Stele dedicated to Nemesis (Pl. IV, 1). On May 8, near the same eastern gate, and at the close of our excavations, I finally discovered a stele of white limestone, broken and mended in antiquity, but pretty nearly complete. It is 0.455 m. high, 0.405 m. broad, and 0.115 m. thick. A man is represented as making a sacrifice to Nemesis whose attributes, griffin and wheel, are seen at her feet; the dedication in Greek and

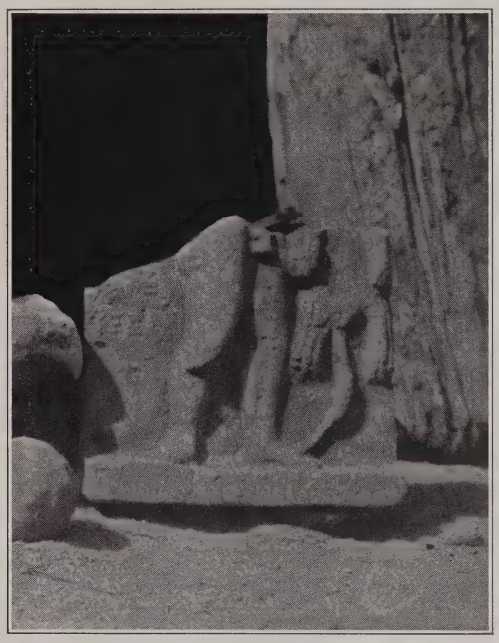


Fig. 5.
Bas-relief of Heracles found in the Palmyrene Gate. To the l. bullets of stone, to the r. a large beam of pine-wood

Palmyrene gives the date 540 of the Macedonian Era (228 A.D.). Although of late date, it is without doubt one of the most singular of the small monuments found up to the present in the excavation of the Palmyrene Gate.

The Altars (Pl. II, 2). If the lower room of the north tower seems to have been occupied by the *corps de garde* of the gate, that which faced it appeared to have been reserved for the cult of divinities.

We have just briefly described some pieces found at the foot of the south wall of the passage; other small monuments, still there, are evidence of the piety of the garrison toward their gods and their emperors. These are small altars, pedestals, and an incense-burner (*thymiaterion*). If, then, the lower room of the south tower is not obstructed by walls of sun-dried brick, it is probable that one of the most sacred sanctuaries of the garrison will be discovered here.

At the left of the entrance a pedestal, crowned by a fillet forming a cornice, shows no longer any trace of an inscription on its plaster coating.

At the right, however, three little altars are placed side by side. The first (Pl. II, 2), near the little door, has no more than uncertain traces of an inscription in mosaic. It will be necessary to remove it and see if its masonry does not contain some monument.

The second (Pl. II, 2 cp. p. 42, Fig. 21), cut in pretty friable and damaged limestone, bears a Latin inscription of a *decurio* of the second Paphlagonian cohort under Emperor Commodus (180-192 A.D.). It was erected on the fifteenth of the calends of June.[1]

These two altars had been, at a later time, covered with stucco, and on its removal Rostovtzeff, on April 23, found between them a small incense-burner in limestone (height of socle 0.18 m.; 0.105 long × 0.065 broad). (Pls. IV, 2, and V.)

Its four sides are ornamented with pretty crude incised drawings with a red background. On the front face, in addition to a Greek inscription, there is a curious drawing (Pl. V A) representing a vexillum standing beside a small steplike altar and flanked by two birds and a vase. On the opposite face (Pl. V C) another emblem, surmounted by a circle or ball and a crescent, is fastened in a pedestal and held in place by three oblique rods or cords. It is curious to compare this emblem with one of the same kind which serves as an attribute of the Egyptian god Min, and which still remains enigmatical.

One of the two side faces (Pl. V B) represents a wingèd Victory holding a palm-branch; the other (Pl. V D) depicts a warrior holding a Roman eagle with a ring or globe in its talons. In the upper left corner three letters are visible and below them is a vexillum faintly incised. All these pictures are framed with wide and deep lines, oval above, forming a stele. Two projections, now broken, served to hold the object,

[1] M. Rostovtzeff, "Les inscriptions de Doura-Europos (Salihiyeh)" in *Comptes-rendus de l'Académie des Inscr.*, 1928, pp. 232 ff.

a little portable *thymiaterion,* the upper surface of which is hollowed out in the shape of a cup with traces of fire.

The date 508, which is inscribed there, refers to the Macedonian Era, 196 A.D. This piece and the following one should be compared with two others described by Cumont and found in 1922 and 1924 at Dura.[1]

Just 1.50 m. west of the little south door was found a small hexagonal altar (Pl. II, 2), in white limestone, with splendid moldings above and below; it is 0.36 m. high, and each side of the hexagon, 0.093 m. broad. On top it is hollowed out for the burning of incense. Broken in two in ancient times it was then repaired and fastened in a socle of stones and plaster, in which I discovered still another little incense-burner. It, too, was in soft stone, cut in the shape of a truncated cone, somewhat worn, and also showing traces of fire. This hexagonal altar was, at a later date, covered with a thick layer of plaster, which gave it the appearance of a rectangular socle. It was when this coating was removed that the altar appeared.

A short Palmyrene inscription, on the principal face of the hexagonal altar, gives the name of the donor Mokimu.

To complete this short study of the discoveries made during the clearing of the Palmyrene Gate it is necessary to mention the bronze coins found near the south tower, almost at the modern surface. They are now corroded. There were also found two pieces of greater importance; first, a small crude bust in chalky stone (height 0.108 m., breadth 0.09 m., thickness 0.038 m.).

The eyes, mouth, and hair are touched up with black, as also the inscription below: *Komodos* (see p. 48, Fig. 22). Behind there is a projection pierced with a hole for suspension. Perhaps this inartistic object is nothing but a caricature by one of the guards ridiculing Emperor Commodus, unless it is a kind of label of a soldier's belongings whose name was Commodus.

Finally, the very morning of our departure, in arranging the stones taken from the tower, a fine Roman inscription was found, unfortunately broken in three pieces; a small part of which at the right is lost. This stone, of which the fractures are recent, can, however, have come from the neighboring necropolis, and may have been carried into the tower at a relatively late period (see p. 49, Fig. 23).

The few meters which still remain on the floor of the towers may hold for us, let us hope, a rich harvest of antique evidence.

[1] *Fouilles,* p. 193, and note 1; Atlas, Pl. LXXVI, 2 and 3.

1. THE INNER REDOUBT BEFORE THE EXCAVATIONS
15 APRIL 1928

2. THE "DUNGEON" OF THE CITADEL
12 APRIL 1928

3. ONE OF THE LATE GRAVES FOUND IN THE CITADEL
12 APRIL 1928

4. THE INNER REDOUBT

The inner redoubt, situated about 175 m. south of the southwest corner of the citadel, has begun to be excavated this season in order to determine its extent and purpose.

Before this work (Pl. III, 1) there was visible a wall about 25 m. long which rose above a wall of rock oriented northeast-southwest. It was erected on the edge of a ravine descending from a plateau where the ancient town was situated; the ravine itself soon became a street descending toward the river.

On the site and better on the aërial photograph (Fig. 2) it seems that this fortification had been erected on a plan in the shape of a trapezium of which the part now visible was the small base, whereas the other, twice as long and about 40 m. distant, was erected on the plateau itself. To the north, the rampart seems to have been parallel to the present road to Abu Kemal, that is to say, in the direction east-west, and at the opposite side it seems to have been oriented northwest-southeast.

At the left end (northeast) of the part now visible the excavations have brought to light the remains of houses which were placed in rows one above another on the slope of the hill, with their backs to the rock wall of the redoubt. Some small coins were found there, also large vases still in their original position along the walls, but empty.

On the exterior right wall (northwest-southeast) quite a large house with a brick floor still in place was laid bare, but all the part facing the valley has been washed away by the rains.

As for the deep breach that cuts the present rampart in two, it seems that one ought to find there traces of a gate or at least of a rather large opening which might have been reached with the aid of ladders.

The excavations on the top of the redoubt carried on down to 4 m. have led to the discovery of houses, where the remains of various epochs, Hellenistic, Roman, and Arabian, have come to light. Much pottery was found, but nothing of particular interest. We also discovered there fragments of a granite mortar with lugs and a pestle of the same material, in the form of a finger, similar to the one found at Tyre, reproduced by Cumont.[1] It is well finished and less worn than those already found at Dura.[2]

A more important piece, which the workmen had without doubt, concealed at the time of its discovery, was offered the very day of my depar-

[1] *Fouilles*, p. 256, and Fig. 56.

[2] Cumont, *op. cit.*, p. 255, and Fig. 55.

ture to local men who had come to hunt at Salihiyeh. The circumstances and the exact place of this discovery could not, however, be determined by inquiry which was then made.

It was a bas-relief of Hercules, in white marble, 0.37 m. high and 0.21 m. broad, which has been deposited in the house of the governor of the region, at Deir-ez-Zor (see pp. 79 ff., Pl. IV, 3).

The hero, entirely nude, holds his club in the right hand, raised to the level of the shoulder. The lion, placed at his left side, stands up on its hind paws and, leaning its forepaws on the hip of Hercules, licks his fist. The style of this bas-relief is very mediocre; it probably belongs to the second century of our era.

It appears then that the immediate approaches and the interior itself of this fortress had been quite soon occupied by private habitations, and this warrants the conclusion that it had from that time on lost all strategic value.

This fact can be explained if we suppose that the inner redoubt and the "dungeon" of the citadel (see below) were the two points occupied by military forces at the beginning of the Macedonian conquest. It is, indeed, in the Greek peninsula that we must seek for examples of this style of embossed masonry, which gives the redoubt its peculiar appearance, and which is not otherwise found in the ramparts of Dura (Pl. III, 1).

The construction of the great circuit wall protecting the town from all attack from the side of the desert, and the construction of the citadel guarding the side toward the river was a work of long duration, and their completion demanded many years of work. But when these were finished, the redoubt was no longer necessary as a place of defense, and its ramparts, stripped of all their military equipment, were handed over to the inhabitants.

5. THE CITADEL

The citadel, as we see it today, commanding the road to Bagdad from its high ramparts, represents scarcely more than the southwest half of this fortification. It dominated the valley of the Euphrates for about sixty m. and had at the same time a view of the desert and of the plateau where the town of Dura was built.

The defensive front, toward the town, measures 286.50 m. in length, in a straight line, and was pierced by three gates, one at the northwest

and two at the southeast end, all three protected by a large square tower which defended their approach.

At each end the rampart turned at a right angle, or nearly so, then the structure disappeared at the edge of a cliff which descended perpendicularly into the valley of the Euphrates. At the southeast the curtain has fallen into the river, at the northwest the destruction has stopped at the very place where a strong bastion stands perched on a rocky spur which must have commanded one of the roads of access to the town on the riverside.

The study of the site and of the aërial photograph (Fig. 2) makes it evident that all its eastern part had been carried away by the river. Indeed, it is on this side that the defensive works must have been the most powerful in order to protect the gate and to resist the attacks of an enemy who had gained control of the river.

Here, also, the engineer has profited very skilfully by the terrain. In fact, the citadel has, today, its culminating point at the tower No. 10,[1] which we shall call "dungeon" (Pl. III, 2); but formerly the rocky peak on which it was built must have had its summit a little farther to the east. It is this point which must have formed the military center of this defense; it is here, perhaps, that the "dour" (fortress) previous to the Macedonian epoch[2] should be sought, for its natural position was very strong.

The engineer who constructed the citadel had cut in the rock the whole front which skirts the Bagdad road as well as the ditch which protected it. That furnished him with a large part of the stone necessary for the construction of the walls which later crowned the rock and gave to its defense a strong foundation which could not be undermined; at the same time it was possible for him to decrease a great deal the height of the walls.

The form of the rocky peak gave to this cutting the appearance of an elongated arc of which the lower parts are at the two ends. There, where the rock is precipitous, the curtains and the high towers were erected. The whole length of the curtain separating the northwestern tower from that of the center was covered by a wall of dressed stone about 0.50 m. thick. This projecting veneer reached the height of the framework over the arch of the northwestern gate. The gates were placed at the two ends

[1] Cumont, *Fouilles*, Atlas, Pl. XVIII, 2.

[2] Cumont, *op. cit.*, Atlas, Pls. XVII-XXI.

of the citadel, at the very points where the hill slopes down. Only here, at the northwestern and southeastern ends, where the amount of *débris* is sufficiently great to cover antique remains, is it worth while to excavate.

The southeastern part seems to offer less archaeological interest, and being more easy of access the camp was set up here.

1. *The northwestern part.*

The northwestern part, on the contrary, was the first excavation undertaken during this season.

A large gate opens on this side close by the square tower which defends the angle of the citadel. It is a semicircular arch, but its spandrel was formerly closed by a stone wall supporting a lintel which has fallen long ago. We have already seen a similar arrangement at the Palmyrene Gate, and identical ones were employed much later in military constructions such as at Kasr-el-Kerr, for example. This was the principal entrance of the citadel, and its gate was surmounted by a rectangular frame forming a projection of about 0.40 m., corresponding to the facing of the lower part of the wall. It must have been ornamented with a low relief or an inscription, but all has been destroyed, without doubt, by the hand of man.

This gate, almost completely buried on our arrival, was cleared down to the rock-cut threshold. At this point a movable footbridge must have spanned the ditch which we investigated by digging a deep trench a little to the southeast. This ditch was 3.70 m. wide, and at the gate the height of the walls is about 22 m.

At a distance of 20 m. from the northwestern tower the rock wall is 9.50 m. high, filled up 6 m. with earth, and surmounted by a wall 2.90 m. thick and 12.50 m. high. The tower itself must have been originally about 30 m. high, and its walls were perpendicular. After passing through the gate we enter a vestibule cut in the rock. At the right (east) the traces of projecting walls seen within for about 52 m. of the remaining ramparts show that two strong walls, the one 2.40 m., the other 1.15 m. thick, reinforced them. Nothing else of these constructions has remained.

At the left (west) a narrow passage of 6.80 m., cut in the rock, follows the foot of the northwestern tower and ends at the doorway of the lower room. This is 1.32 m. broad on the outside and 1.62 m. in the splay; it is more than 3 m. high and is surmounted by a lintel of dressed

stone with three keystones arranged horizontally, two of which were still in place at the time of the discovery. The wooden door opened backward, and its upper pivot turned in a piece of wood, part of which has been found in the hole in which it had been inserted.

If in walking toward the river we again climb the slope of the hill along the northwestern rampart we find some ledges cut in the rock on which were placed in steplike arrangement, without doubt, accessory constructions of defense.

It is there, about 20 m. from the wall of the northwestern tower, that we discovered quite a large series of interments. The bodies had been buried in the ground, without coffins, wrapped in thick stuffs woven in wool, then laid out and covered with large fragments of ordinary unvarnished clay pottery (Pl. III, 3). Nothing was found among the bones to date the burials, but the striped stuffs of alternating bright colors seem to place them in the ninth century A.D.

We removed only a few corpses; all the others we left in place after having verified their position. It seems that they are quite numerous, all aligned parallel to the northwestern rampart and all similarly buried. Among them we found the remains of a young child. It is probable that some Arab tribe sought shelter among the ruins of the old citadel.

The tower of the northwestern angle measures on the outside 10.25 m. (toward the town) by 11.65 m. (on the northwestern front), the walls of the first story are 2.63 m. and 2.74 m. (northwestern front) thick, and at the ground 2.71, 2.74, and 2.84 m. It must have had two stories, for the holes in which the beams of the ceiling were fastened are still visible. At the beginning of the excavations the first story was reached by a door situated close to the northwestern rampart, but partly buried. This door 2.55 m. high by 1.12 m. broad had a similar straight lintel. When cleared it was seen that it had no approach and that one could not reach this story of the tower except by a small footbridge resting on the rock, on the side of the river, and crossing the ditch. Or else by the aid of ladders placed inside the towers; in any case that was formerly the only means of communication between the first and second stories of the towers. At least, the partial clearing has not yet indicated any other means of access to the upper stories of the citadel.

This peculiarity is found elsewhere, it seems, throughout the fortifications of Dura, and appears to indicate the distrust which the garrison —without doubt strangers—felt in regard to the inhabitants of the town.

The room. The room of the first story, cleared today even below the level of its floor, measures 5.40 m. × 6.16 m.; it was lighted only by the door and two narrow loopholes in the northwest and southwest walls. The first one has a flat ceiling and measures 0.30 m. on the outside. The second one has a triangular arch on the inside and measures 1.40 m. in breadth by 1.60 m. in height (without the triangle), but on the outside it has only a loophole of 1.06 m. × 0.47 m.

The beams supporting its floor were fastened into the northwestern face of the wall, but on the opposite side they rested on a narrow ledge projecting 0.47 m.

Near the inner south corner of this room we found human bones and with them diverse small objects: a glass vial, a cylindrical wooden ointment-box with a little spoon, a belt-plate, a bone ring, and fragments of molded glass, which seem to belong to Roman times.

2. *The "Dungeon."*

At the top of the rocky peak, about two-thirds of the distance which separates the northwestern and southeastern angles of the ramparts of the citadel, but southeast of the latter angle, are the remains of a tower.[1]

Half of this construction was carried away when the cliff fell into the valley; that which remains leans toward the abyss, and may fall at any moment. Since it is not safe to stand on top it was necessary to examine it from the valley where an almost perfect section of the construction is visible (Pl. III, 2). It is a square tower, measuring on its outside about 10 m., and its walls, 1.20 m. thick, are built around a square pit cut in the rock; a second tower, about 4.50 m. square, is constructed inside the outer tower, and a staircase 1.10 m. wide descends between the two towers. This staircase, between partition walls, has square landings at the corners of the towers.

It is not a question here "of a secret passage leading to the river, of a prison, or of a slave's prison,"[2] but simply a descent to a cistern cut in the rock[3] under this tower. There can be seen even today one of the triangular grooves in the curb worn by the friction of ropes used in drawing water. The opposite groove is destroyed.

The cistern itself, which is very deep, may be older than the tower. Its lower part, which is square, obviously has the same breadth as the

[1] Tower No. 10. Cumont, *Fouilles,* pp. 17-18, and Atlas, Pl. XVIII, 2.

[2] *Ibid.,* Colonel Renard quoted by Cumont.

[3] *Ibid.,* Lieutenant Delaplanche (1924), quoted by Cumont.

tower itself, that is to say, about 10 m., but it gradually decreases as it rises, and it is on its sides that the walls of the inner tower, which are slightly out of perpendicular, rest.

It is cut in the rock and was covered with a layer of waterproof mortar. In its lower part is a large semicircular niche hollowed out of both of the preserved sides, in order to increase the capacity of the cistern without endangering the solidity of the upper constructions. A former crumbling of the cliff must have caused very deep cracks in the bottom of the cistern, for repairs were made with a filling of large, baked bricks.

The orientation of this tower—exactly according to the four points of the compass and 45 degrees off the direction of the ramparts of the citadel—was fixed by the form and the position of the cistern. This peculiar orientation seems to indicate that the tower is anterior to the citadel itself, or at least to that part of it which is still preserved.

Furthermore, a cistern on this highest point implies that some buildings were erected not far from there toward the northeast, because there are no traces toward the southwest, and that the area the buildings covered was sufficiently large to need an abundant supply of rain water.

We have called this place "dungeon," not because of its own importance, but because it once was part of a powerful mass of fortifications.

3. *The southeastern part.*

This part of the citadel has not been touched by our excavations. It contains two towers buried even higher than the floor level of the first story, and two large gates of which the one toward the northwest, measuring 4.24 m. in width, still has the semicircle of its arch walled up. The *débris* accumulated at this point has covered it up to the lintel. The other gate, near the tower of the southeastern angle, also has a semicircular arch and has a span of 4.15 m., but its stone spandrel has fallen. The curtain which unites them is 2.70 m. thick.

The south towers have the same defensive arrangement as that of the north angle, and a simple hole dug in the floor of the tower of the southeastern angle, made for the placing of a door, contained a glazed lamp and other *débris* of the Arabian period, proving that the ruins were occupied up to a relatively recent time.

Thus, in spite of the disappearance of a considerable part of the citadel of Salihiyeh, with its 13,000 sq. m., and its ramparts 22 m. high, it is noteworthy as one of the largest of the Hellenistic age, at least in this part of Asia.

III

GREEK AND LATIN INSCRIPTIONS[1]

BY M. I. ROSTOVTZEFF

One of the most interesting features of the main gate of the city of Dura as revealed by the spring campaign of 1928 is the fact that the gate is so rich in inscriptions: Greek, Latin, and Palmyrene.[2] Prof. Charles Torrey will discuss the Palmyrene texts. The Greek and Latin inscriptions form the subject of this chapter. The inscriptions of the main gate may be divided into three classes.

(1) The first class is formed by scores of short texts which literally cover the surface of the lower parts of the inner walls of the gate. Some of them are carved in monumental letters into the surface of the stones. Some are scratched—regular graffiti. Some are painted in red or black on a thin layer of stucco—regular dipinti. There are, moreover, inscriptions which are both carved and painted inasmuch as in some inscriptions the carved letters are filled with red paint, in some others the carved inscription has been covered with a whitewash and the letters were painted on this wash. More than thirty such inscriptions were unearthed during the stay of Cumont and myself in Dura, scores were discovered after we left Dura. The inscriptions of the north wall were copied by Cumont, those of the south wall by myself. Our copies have been revised by Mr. Jotham Johnson, to whom is reserved the right of publication of those inscriptions which were discovered in the spring of 1928, but which we have not seen, and of those which might be discovered during the campaign of 1928 (fall)–1929 (spring). The publication of the inscriptions in this chapter is based on our original copies, on the corrections to those copies suggested by Mr. Johnson, on the squeezes made by Cumont and myself and those sent to me by Mr. Johnson, and on photographs.

(2) To the second class belong the inscriptions on the monumental altars (see Pillet's report, pp. 19 ff.) which are grouped near the entrance

[1] The inscriptions are reproduced from painted squeezes, except Nos. 7, 20, 21, 22, 23, and must not be regarded as facsimiles.

[2] Cp. M. Rostovtzeff, "Les inscriptions de Doura-Europos (Salihiyeh)," in *Compte-rendu de l'Acad. d. Inscr. et Belles Lettres,* 1928, pp. 226 ff. The inscriptions which I have mentioned and described in this paper are here published in full and in improved readings.

which leads into the south tower. One of these inscriptions is in Latin, another in Greek, and one in Palmyrene.

(3) The third class consists of inscriptions on votive and funeral monuments, of which four have been found inside and outside the south tower (see Pillet, pp. 18 f.).

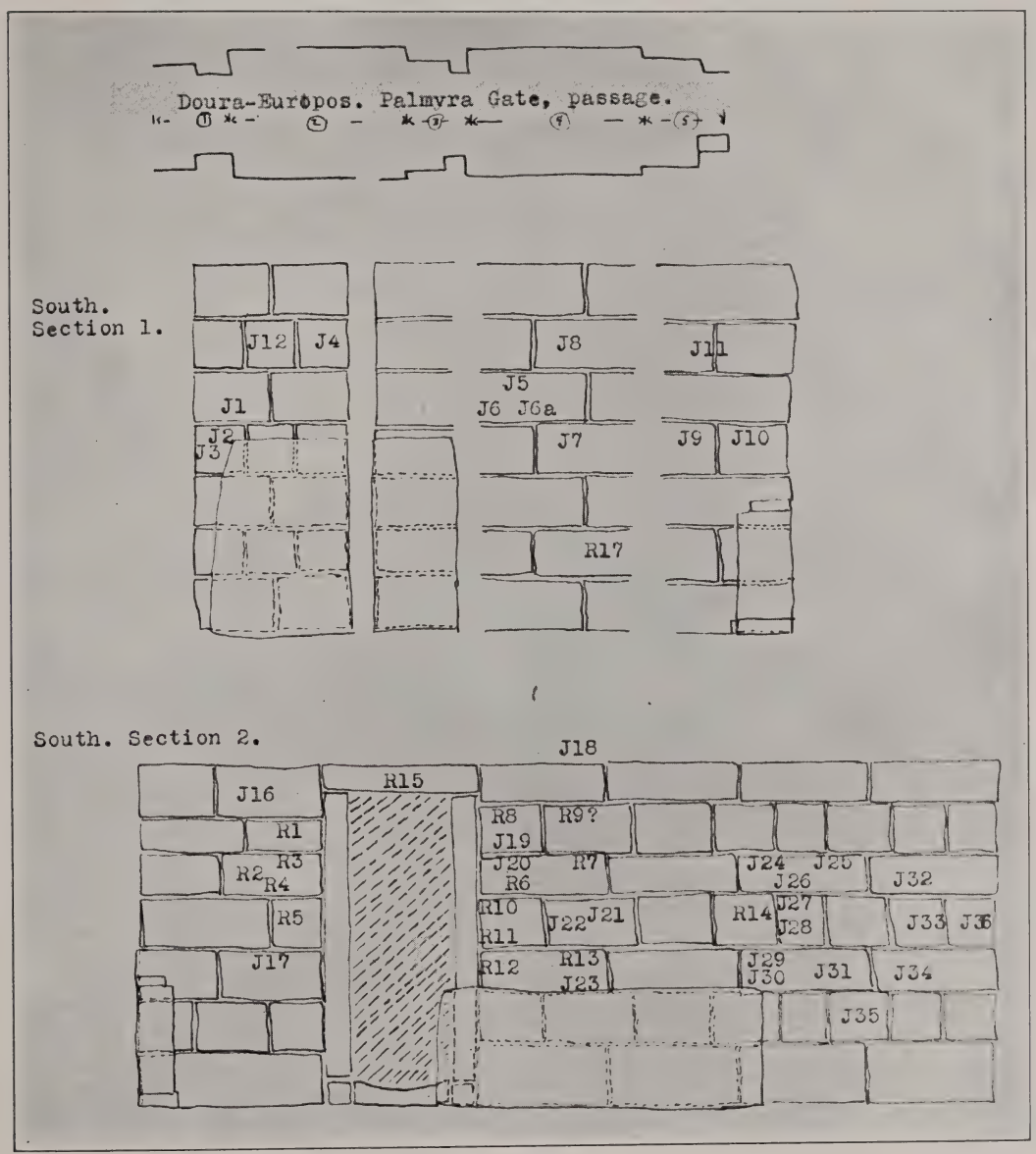


Fig. 6.
Diagram of the south wall of the Palmyrene Gate (drawn by Mr. J. Johnson)

DESCRIPTION OF THE MONUMENTS

I. INSCRIPTIONS ON THE INNER WALLS OF THE PALMYRENE GATE

Let me begin with the first class. The inscriptions of the north wall copied by Cumont are designated by the letter C and a numeral, those of the south wall copied by myself by a letter R and a numeral. A diagram of the south wall shows the disposition of the inscriptions on this wall (Fig. 6). I give these inscriptions in this preliminary report with the aim of showing the type of the texts which cover the walls. Mr. Johnson writes me that many inscriptions which Cumont and myself have not seen have been discovered and read since, some of them among and between the inscriptions published here. For the final publication of this class of inscriptions we must therefore wait until the end of the campaign of 1928-29.

A. Inscriptions of the South Wall.

R. 1. *Tabella ansata* painted red on a thin layer of stucco. Inside, a dipinto of three lines.

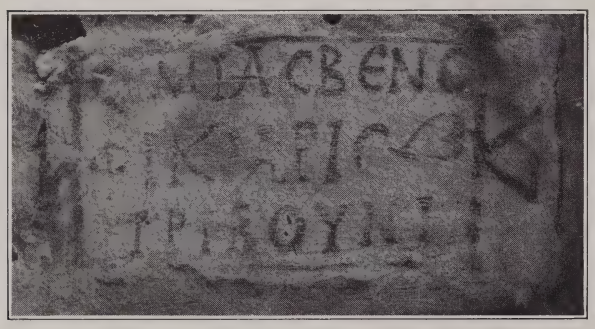


Fig. 7.

Ἑρμίας βενε-
φικιάρι(ο)ς
τριβούνι

H. 0.23 m.; W. 0.51 m.; H. of the letters 0.05 m.

R. 2. Carved and painted inscription of four lines.

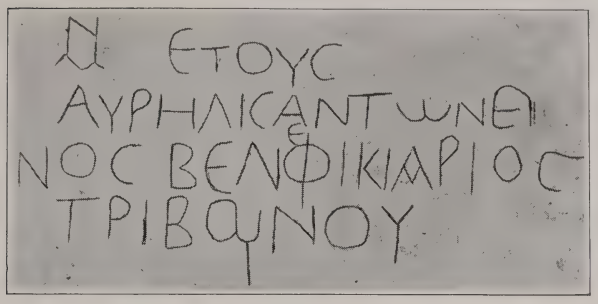


Fig. 8.

μν(ησθῆ) ἔτους
Αὐρήλι(ο)ς Ἀντωνεῖ-
νος βενεφικιάριος
τριβούνου

H. 0.26 m.; W. 0.49 m.; H. of the letters 0.045 m.

R. 3. A curious feature of this inscription is the fact that there was no date after ἔτους (cp. R. 7) and that in the vacant space after this word is painted in red an inscription of two lines in small characters. This small inscription practically repeats with some modifications that carved in monumental letters. The inscription reads as follows:

μν(ησθῆ) Ἀντωνεῖνος βενε-
φικειάρ(ι)ος τριβούνου

R. 4. After the double inscription of Aurelius Antoninus was completed another man smeared with stucco the space below R. 2 and painted in tiny faint black letters a third inscription of two lines.

ΑΥΡΗΛΙΟϹΘΗΜΑΡϹΑϹ
ΑΜ⊓ ΕΤΗ[illegible]ΙϹΚ

Αὐρήλιος Θημαρσᾶς
. . . . . .

This inscription is given here with some corrections suggested by Mr. Johnson. The second line I am not able to transcribe and to interpret. [Perhaps the name Ἀμρί, cf. Nabataean Ἀμβρί, 1 Macc. 9, 36. C.C.T.] The ligature ⊓ is curious though not uncommon in the inscriptions of the gate. The name Θημαρσᾶς, as Johnson writes me, occurs in another inscription of the gate designating the same man, who appears to have been like Antoninus a *beneficiarius* of the tribune.

Cumont reads the name Θ[ε]μα[λλ]ᾶς and quotes the frequent name Θαιμαλλας and Θεμαλλᾶς in Syrian inscriptions, e.g., Princeton Expedition, Div. A, Index. Cp. *Str.*, XVI, 753 and the Semitic name Taïm-

allah, Lidzbarski, *Handbuch,* p. 385. The H and the C of the name, however, seem to me certain.

[This is the familiar Palmyrene name Taimarṣū; in Greek bilinguals [Θαιμαρ]σᾳ̂, dat. (the restoration certain), De Vogüé 6; Θαιμαρσᾶν, accus., *Ephemeris* II, 291; cf. *Répertoire* 2191. C.C.T.]

R. 5. This inscription in three lines inside of a painted *tabella ansata* is a triple palimpsest. The third line has been painted over an earlier dated inscription (R. 6). The letters of the first and second lines (the third has disappeared completely) have been partly cut and painted, partly only painted. The painted letters are smaller and do not repeat the cut letters. It seems as if after an attempt at cutting the letters the author of the inscription preferred to smear the surface with whitewash and to paint the letters.

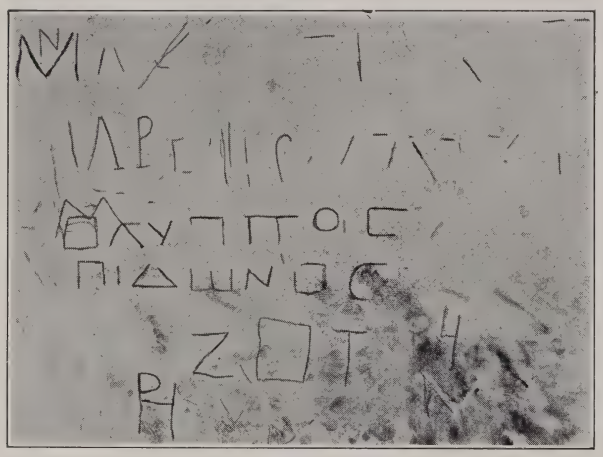


Fig. 9.

μν(ησθῇ) Αὐρήλιος
. . . . . .
. . . . . .

H. 0.195 m.; W. 0.41 m.; H. of the cut letters 0.035 m.; H. of the painted letters .005 m. L. 1. $\overset{N}{M}$ is cut and painted. The rest of the line painted. L. 2. ΛΒЄ according to Johnson is cut and painted. On the squeeze I see some cut and the remains of many painted letters. It is useless to attempt deciphering this palimpsest. L. 3. All the letters painted.

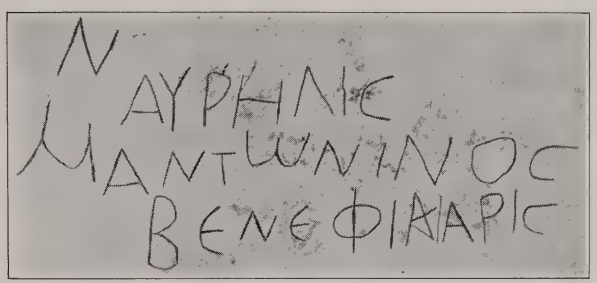
R. 5a. Line three of R. 5 has been painted over an older inscription of two lines in cut letters. The inscription (with some corrections suggested by Johnson) reads as follows:

Ὄλυμπος
Μίδωνος

H. of the letters 0.02 m. L. 1. Over the first two letters a capital M has been scratched. L. 2. Μίδωνος for Μείδωνος. Both names are common Greek names extensively used by the inhabitants of Dura. See Cumont, *Doura-Europos,* Index under these names.

R. 5b. The space under R. 5a is filled with two short carved inscriptions and faint traces of various graffiti. Of the carved inscriptions the first gives three letters ΖΟΤ, no doubt a date: Sel. 377 = 65-66 A.D. (H. of the letters between 0.04 m. and 0.03 m.); the second is a combination (ligature) of capital P and capital H which reminds one of the ligature in R. 4.

R. 6. Inscription of three lines in monumental letters cut and painted.

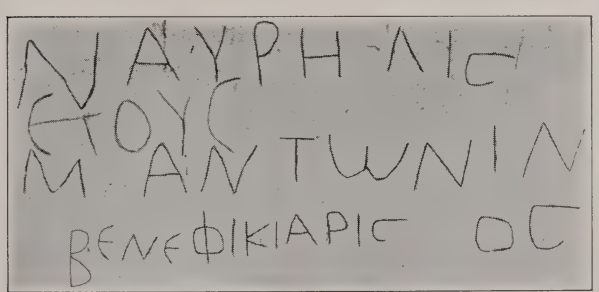


μν(ησθῇ) Αὐρήλι(ο)ς
Αντωνῖνος
βενεφικίαρι(ο)ς

Fig. 10.

H. 0.17 m.; W. 0.37 m.; H. of the letters 0.035 m. L. 3. The seventh letter was cut as an A. The stonecutter noticed his mistake and added a stroke which was intended to correct the A to K (Johnson).

R. 7. Inscription in three lines in monumental letters cut and painted.



μν(ησθῇ) / ἔτους
Αὐρήλι(ο)ς
Αντωνῖνος
βενεφικίαρι(ο)ς

Fig. 11.

H. 0.255 m.; W. 0.63 m.; H. of the letters 0.065 m. L. 1. Between the M and N of the initial formula and the first and second lines of the inscription the word ἐτους has been added. It belongs, as R. 2 and R. 11 show, to the beginning of the inscription. To the l. of R. 7 over R. 6 faint traces of a graffito are still recognizable. The graffito begins with the formula μν(ησθῆ). L. 3. According to the observation of Johnson, which is supported by the squeeze, the -ος of Ἀντωνῖνος was written at the end of line 3.

R. 8. Inscription of two lines in monumental letters cut in the stone.

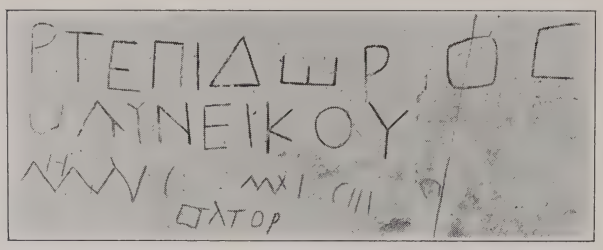


Fig. 12.

Ἀρτεμίδωρος
Πολυνείκου

H. 0.12 m.; W. 0.60 m.; H. of the letters 0.045 m. Artemidoros is a common name in Dura, Cumont, *Doura-Europos,* Index.

R. 8a. Below R. 8 stands a scratched inscription of two lines. The letters are faint. I have succeeded in reading on the squeeze

μνη[σθῆ] . . . αλχι . ς ///
στάτ(ω)ρ

H. of the letters of the first line 0.035 m.-0.015 m.; of the second line 0.02 m. L. 2. I cannot give an interpretation of the three strokes between the name and the title. The name reminds one of the common Semitic names Μάλχος, Μαλχαῖος, etc.

R. 9. Inscription of two lines in monumental letters cut in the stone.

ΦΙΛΟΠΗΛΟC
ΝΙΚΟΦΩΝΤΟC

Φιλόμηλος
Νικοφῶντος

I have no squeeze of this inscription and have not measured it. The text of the inscription appears here as now read by Mr. Johnson. The two names are common Greek names.

R. 10. Inscription in two lines in monumental letters cut and painted red. The surface of the wall here, and where R. 6 and 7 are carved, is blackened by fire.

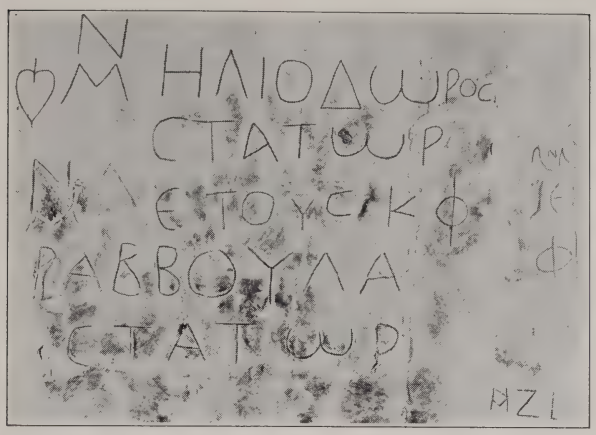


Fig. 13.

μν(ησθῆ) Ἡλιόδωρος
στάτωρ

H. 0.15 m.; W. 0.47 m.; H. of the letters 0.05 m.-0.02 m. Heliodoros is one of the most common names in Syria. For Dura see Cumont, *Doura-Europos,* Index.

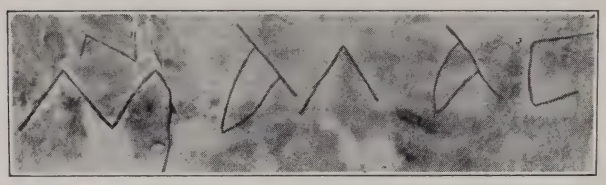
R. 11. Inscription of three lines in monumental letters cut and painted red. See Fig. 13.

μν(ησθῆ) ἔτους κφ΄
Ῥαββουλᾶ
στάτωρ

H. 0.21 m.; W. 0.46 m.; H. of the letters 0.05 m.-0.03 m. For the name Cumont refers to the bishop of Edessa Rabbula (412-435 A.D.). The date Sel. 520 = 208-209 A.D.

R. 11a. (See Fig. 13.) To the r. of R. 11 I recognized on the squeeze the first letters of an inscription of three lines. The inscription begins with the usual formula μν(ησθῆ). Then follow two names. The first according to Mr. Johnson is IEPAIOC. The second is more doubtful. It begins probably with ΦΙ. On the same stone, according to Mr. Johnson in large (0.08 m.) shallow letters is the name CШKPATHC.

R. 12. Inscription of one line scratched in cursive letters.



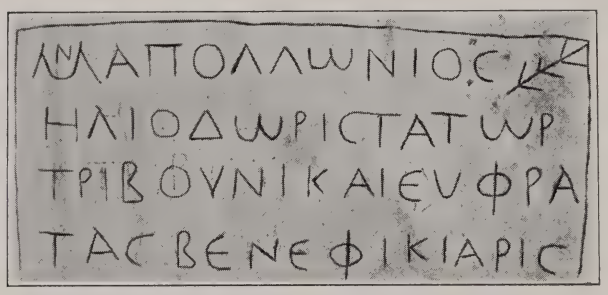
μν(ησθῇ) Ἀλᾶς

Fig. 14.

H. of the cursive letters 0.045 m. The name recurs in the Palmyrene inscription I.G.R.R. III 1052 (142 A.D.).

R. 13. Unfinished inscription of one line in monumental letters cut in the stone $\overset{N}{M}$ ZL; H. of the letters 0.03 m.

R. 14. Inscription of four lines incised and painted red, in a painted frame.

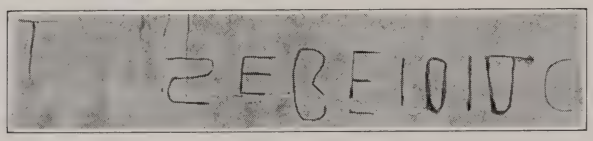


μν(ησθῇ) Ἀπολλώνιος
Ἡλιοδώρι στάτωρ
τριβούνι καὶ Εὐφρά-
τας βενεφικιάρι(ο)ς

Fig. 15.

H. 0.18 m.; W. 0.37 m.; H. of the letters 0.02 m.
Cp. for the names R. 10 and C. 8.

R. 15. Inscription of one line cut into the lintel of the entrance to the south tower.



Τ(ύχῃ) (?)Ζεβενίας

Fig. 16.

W. 0.58 m.; H. of the letters 0.06 m. The sixth letter is no doubt an N, not an IΔ as it appears on the painted squeeze. This has been recognized simultaneously on the squeeze by myself and on the original by Mr. Johnson; whether the first letter belongs to the same inscription or not is impossible to say. For the name, cp. note to R. 17.

R. 17. Inscription in two lines in monumental letters cut in the stone.

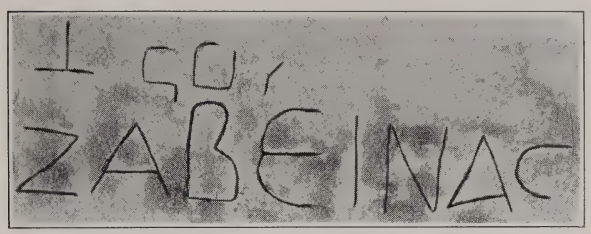


Fig. 17.

ἔτους ϛου΄
Ζαβεινᾶς

The date Sel. 476 = 164-165 A.D.

W. 0.3 m.; H. of the letters 0.04 m. The name, Cumont, *Doura-Europos*, Inscr. Nos. 37 and 18, and note to 18.

R. 18. Remains of an inscription of three lines in monumental characters cut in the stone. The larger part of this inscription is covered by the upper part of the altar with the Latin inscription.

SOY
NA ////////
////////

The first three letters are apparently a date:

Sel. ϛου΄—476=164-165 A.D.

B. Inscriptions of the North Wall.

The inscriptions of the north wall were copied hastily by Cumont. The wall has been cleaned since. New inscriptions have appeared and the reading of those copied by Cumont has been restudied by Mr. Johnson. See the diagram of the wall, Fig. 18.

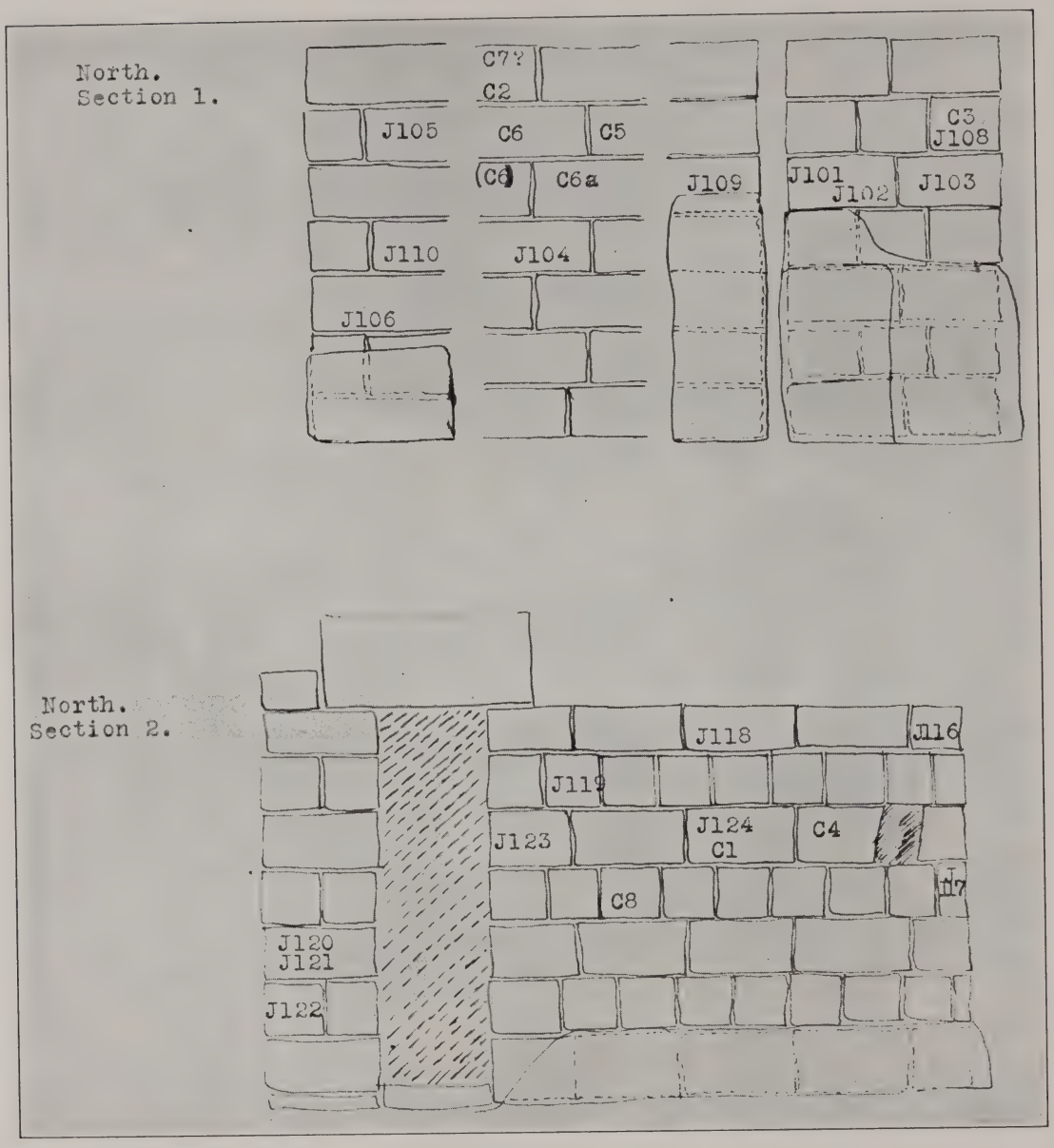


Fig. 18.

Diagram of the north wall (drawn by Mr. J. Johnson)

Most of the inscriptions need further study for establishing the final reading of them. I regard it, therefore, as wiser to postpone the publication of the major part of these inscriptions. I am publishing here only two of them, since they have a direct bearing on those of the south wall and since the reading of them is practically certain.

C. 3. The first lines of this inscription were probably painted and have disappeared completely. They contained, no doubt, the name of the dedicant. The remaining two lines are cut and painted red.

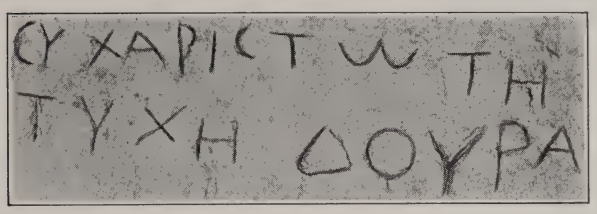


Fig. 19.

εὐχαριστῶ τῇ
Τύχῃ Δούρα(ς)

H. 0.09 m.; W. 0.39 m.; H. of the letters 0.03 m.

C. 8. Inscription of four lines in monumental letters on a *tabella ansata* cut and painted.

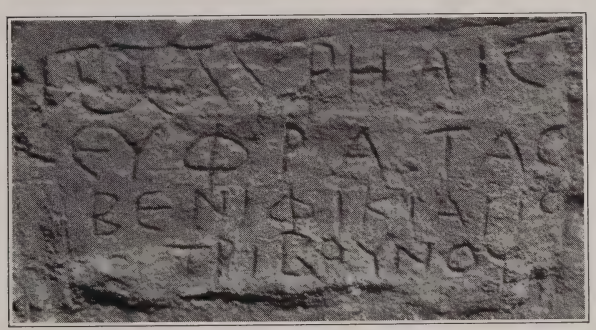


Fig. 20.

μν(ησθῆ) Αὐρήλι(ο)ς
Εὐφράτας
βενεφικ(ι)άρι(ο)ς
τριβούνου

H. 0.27 m.; W. 0.49 m.; H. of the letters 0.05 m.-0.08 m.
In the fourth line Cumont reads at the beginning M. I cannot see this letter on my photograph.

2. INSCRIPTIONS ON ALTARS

1. Square altar of friable limestone. The inscription is incised on the front of the altar, and the last two lines on the front of its base. H. of the inscribed front of the altar 0.62 m.; W. 0.28 m.; H. of the letters 0.025 m.-0.03 m.

Fig. 21.
Altar with the Latin inscription of the Palmyrene Gate

Pro salu/te Com(modi) Aug(usti) Pii F(elicis)/ et Victo/ria(m) d(omini) n(ostri)/ imp(eratoris) Pac (——)/ Nigreinus T/romen(tina) et/ Ael(ius) Tittia/nus dec(uriones) coh(ortis)/ II Ulp(iae) P(aphlagonum) eq(uitatae) Com(modianae)/ Genio Dura/vota s(olverunt) em(eriti) ex v(isu)/ XV (or XVI) Ka(lendis) Iulis (or Iunis)/ Prisco et Claro/ co(n)s(ulibus).

The deciphering of this inscription was not an easy matter. It took some time to recognize that for the letter d the writer used a sign generally used in the cursive script of the period for either a or b. Still more difficult was it to recognize that the writer has used for the letter r two different signs one more monumental, another more cursive. Moreover, in some places cracks in the surface of the altar suggested wrong readings and it was not easy to eliminate these readings and to disregard the cracks. Finally, with the help of some of my colleagues—Prof. R. Cagnat, Prof. J. G. C. Anderson, and especially of the much-regretted

late Prof. Th. Reinach—I have succeeded in establishing the text as it appears printed here. This text differs in many respects if compared with the text printed in the *C. R. de l'Ac.* I shall deal with the historical problems connected with our text later in this paper. Here a few remarks on my readings and some parallels for justifying them.

L. 1-6. The honorific epithet *Felix* added to the name of the emperor shows that the inscription was incised after 185 A.D., when Commodus assumed this addition to his name. Note that the name of the emperor has not been erased as in most of his inscriptions.

L. 6. The division mark after *imp(eratoris)* shows that with the letters PAC begin a new section of the text. PAC is no doubt the abbreviated *nomen gentile* of one of the dedicants: *Pac(onius)*, *Pac(uvius)*, *Pac(rinius)* or similar. The absence of the praenomen in his and his colleague's name is typical for the late second and the third century A.D.

L. 7. *Nigreinus* as cognomen is very common in Syria. For Dura see Cumont, *Doura-Europos,* Inscr. No. 31. The writer first left out *-us* at the end of the name and inserted it later over the line. It is possible to read instead of *Nigreinus* the surname *Urbeinus.*

L. 7-8. T/ROMEN/ is no doubt the name of the *tribus* to which *Pac. Nigreinus* (or *Urbeinus*) belonged. It is not an uncommon feature of the Latin, especially military, inscriptions of the second and third centuries to place the name of the *tribus* after the *cognomen* instead of in its regular place after the father's name, see Dessau, *I.L.S.,* Index, p. 591. The equally unusual abbreviation *Tromen(tina)* occurs in Dessau, *I.L.S.,* No. 6295.

L. 9-10. The cognomen *Tittianus* is one of the commonest in the inscriptions both of Syria and of Asia Minor.

L. 10-11. The letter after IIVLP might be a ligature of P and E. I think that both Nigrinus and Titianus were *decuriones* (commanders of the horsemen) of the same cohort. The cohort *II Ulpia Paphlagonum eq(uitata)* is not a new one. It is mentioned in two documents as forming part of the army of occupation of Syria. One is the well-known inscription of M. Valerius Lollianus, commander of various cavalry *vexillationes* in the army of L. Verus in Syria (*C.I.L.,* III, 600; Dessau, *I.L.S.,* 9052). The surname *Com(modiana)* of the cohort is new. Note that this surname has not been erased.[1]

[1] On the *cohors II Ulpia Paphlagonum equitata,* see K. Cichorius in *Pauly-Wissowa R.E.,* IV, 325. The cohort like many others was first created by Trajan for his Parthian expedition. How many changes were brought in by Trajan in the constitution of the

L. 12. The decipherment of this line is due to the late Prof. Th. Reinach. The *genius Dura(e)* (the men of Dura seem to have regarded the name Dura as indeclinable, cp. C. 3) is no doubt identical with the Τύχη Δούρας of C. 3 and of the fresco of the temple of the Palmyrene gods.

L. 13. The reading of this line is far from certain. However, I am confident that *vota* is the correct reading of the first four letters and I see the upper part of an S following the first four letters. If so *em* which follows must be explained (as Th. Reinach suggested) as an abbreviation for *em(eriti)*. The altar consequently was dedicated by the two officers after they received the *honesta missio* and became veterans. Such a laconic mention of the *honesta missio* is not unknown in Latin inscriptions of the second and third centuries A.D. (e.g., Dessau, *I.L.S.*, 2547). Between the two last letters E and V, I recognize under the line the upper part of a small X. If so, the only possible reading is *ex v(isu)*. Dedications *ex visu* are more than common (e.g., Dessau, *I.L.S.*, 2551). Thus, we must conclude that the two officers of our inscription shortly before they received their *honesta missio* made a vow to dedicate an altar to the Fortune of Dura in case they received the *missio*. After receiving it they fulfilled the vow, the Fortune of Dura having appeared to them and having urged them to do so.

L. 14-16 contain the date—the seventeenth or sixteenth of June of the year of the consuls Priscus and Clarus. This pair of consuls is new. Priscus is a very common cognomen of many senatorial families of the second century. The second consul, Clarus, belonged probably to the well-known family of the Erucii Clari. One of them was consul in 170 A.D.; his son was consul in 193. Our Clarus was probably a third member of the same family. Th. Reinach, who recognized the name Clarus in our inscription, suggested the reading *Falcone et Claro cos. Falcone,* however, cannot be read and this pair of consuls belongs to the year 193 A.D., i.e., to the year which followed the assassination of Commodus.

Syrian army, especially as regards the auxiliary corps, is shown by comparison of the inscriptions quoted in the text with a new military diploma of 88 A.D. found in Bulgaria; see R. Cagnat in *Syria,* IX (1928), 25. R. Paribeni, *Optimus Princeps,* 1927, II, 286, n. 25, has again tried to prove that the inscription of Lollianus belongs to the time of Trajan. However, the evidence in favor of the later date (162-165 A.D.) is overwhelming. On the number of *decuriones* in a *cohors equitata,* see the new evidence in a recently discovered papyrus—a *pridianum* of the *cohors I Hispanorum, veterana,* similar to the fragments of the *pridianum* discovered at Dura by Cumont (*Doura-Europos,* p. 316): A. Hunt in *Raccolta Lumbroso,* pp. 265 ff.; G. Cantacuzène in *Aegyptus,* IX (1928), 63 ff.

2. The second, hexagonal altar, with the Palmyrene inscription on one of its sides (see Pl. II, 2 and Pl. IV, 4) was found placed on a rough base and partly covered with a coating of stucco. It was broken in antiquity into two parts and later put together. H. 0.35 m.; W. of each of the six sides 0.09 m. One corner only of the upper part of the altar emerged from the coating of stucco which covered it. In inspecting this part of the altar I detected a graffito, NMTYXI / IAT, which according to Cumont must be read μν(ησθῆ) Τυχι(κός) and ιατ... regarded as the abbreviation of the father's name or of ἰατρός. However, the fact that the altar according to the Palmyrene inscription is dedicated to the Fortune of Dura (see p. 61) suggests the possibility of recognizing in the second word the name of the goddess and in the third the name of the man who has recommended himself to the goddess (Semitic names which begin with Ια are not uncommon). After some hesitation I removed the stucco coating from the surface of the altar and found under the crust the Palmyrene inscription which is interpreted in the chapter of Prof. Charles Torrey. I should add that later on the rough base of the altar was destroyed by M. Pillet. Inside of it was found a small incense-altar, on which see the report of M. Pillet p. 21.

3. Between the altar No. 1 and another square altar, built of loose stones and cement, which stands to the left of No. 1 (see Pl. II, 2; this altar conceals, probably like the base of No. 2, some fragments of more ancient religious monuments), I noticed a layer of stucco which filled the space between the bases of the two altars mentioned above. Since this layer of stucco which was extended over the front of the base of the altar No. 1 prevented me from reading the last lines of the inscription of this altar I removed the stucco and found embedded in it a small elegant portable incense-altar, originally with two handles which are now missing. H. 0.180 m.; W. 0.105 m. (base), 0.070 m. (attic); Th. 0.065 m. (See Pl. IV, 2, and Pl. V.) The altar has a curious shape—a broad rectangular base, an almost pyramidal body, and a rectangular high attic. All the four sides of the body are adorned with incised figures in a half-oval incised frame. The description of them is given in the chapter of Mr. Cumont (pp. 68 ff.). The front of the attic above the main scene shows an incised inscription of three lines. Another inscription runs down in a vertical column to the right of the main picture of the altar, just below the inscription of the attic. Two or three letters (one is A) are scratched on the attic of one of the narrower sides of the altar, above the *vexillum* (Pl. V).

The inscription of the attic reads as follows (See Pl. IV, 2 and Pl. V).

μν(ησθῆ) τησημρα[.]
μν(ησθῆ) Ῥουμᾶς
μν(ησθῆ) Βαραδάδης

The second inscription shows the following letters which form as I have said a vertical column: M/H/Δ/TΔ (in ligature) /O/YPAC (the last three letters in ligature) and to the right of this group of letters H/M superimposed; below—B. I venture to suggest the following reading of the second inscription: μη(νὸς) Δ(ύστρου) ἡμ(έρας)β΄ Τ(ύχῃ) Δούρας. Not so easy is the decipherment of the first line of the attic's inscription. Cumont is inclined to see in it a Semitic name. I must confess that I have not found any Semitic name which would be transcribed by the set of letters reproduced above. If, however, we take into consideration: first that the inscription on the side of the altar mentions expressly a special day (the second day of Dystros), and second that in the inscriptions R. 2 and R. 7, published above, the formula μνησθῆ is followed by the word ἔτους (without a numeral, i.e., not a date); if we consider further that our altar was dedicated to the Fortune of Dura we will find it possible to read the puzzling letters as ἡμ(έ)ρα[ς]. The interpretation then will be that the two Semitic soldiers, Rumas and Baradades, recommended themselves to the goddess and wanted her not only to keep in mind their names, but also a memorable date in their life, the second day of Dystros (for the *beneficiarii* of the gate the memorable date was the year of their service). Whether the second day of Dystros was the date of a vision which urged the soldiers to dedicate the altar or the dedication day of the *sacellum Fortunae,* or something else, we do not know. If I am right in reading the letters of the inscription on the side of the altar as Τ(ύχῃ) Δούρας and the altar thus was dedicated to this goddess, it becomes easier to understand the meaning of the figures which adorn the four sides of the altar. The sanctuary of the Fortune of Dura being no doubt the particular shrine of the soldiers posted in the gate, it becomes probable that the man who incised the figures on the altar wished to reproduce the most important sacred objects of the shrine: the *vexillum,* the altar for the imperial cult, the basin with the sacred water, the holy mast surmounted by the disk and the crescent, and perhaps equally some motives of the frescoes which adorned the walls of the shrine: the Sun-eagle with the wreath, the Victory with the crown.

As regards the names of the dedicants, Rumas and Baradades, I refer for the first to Cumont, *Doura-Europos,* Inscr. No. 125, l. 6, while the second, as Cumont remarks, is a good Semitic name which means "son of Hadad," and is mentioned in the form Βαράδατος by Euagrius, II, 9, as the name of an eremite of the region of Antioch.

4. The square, rough altar to the left of the altar with the Latin inscription shows on its front a design made by means of small, black stones inlaid in the stucco. The outlines of this design remind me of the rose which appears as the coat of arms of the city of Dura in the famous fresco of the tribune in the sanctuary of the Palmyrene gods. On the left side of the altar I noticed some scratched letters which I was not able to decipher.

3. THE INSCRIBED MONUMENTS FOUND IN AND NEAR THE SOUTH TOWER

M. Pillet has mentioned in his report that two bas-reliefs, one bust and one inscribed slab, were found in and near the south tower. Let me briefly describe these monuments.

1. Fragment of a stele with carved figures on its front and with an incised inscription on the front of the low base. H. 0.2 m.; W. 0.22 m. (p. 19, Fig. 5). The stele is complete on its right side and below, broken on the left side and on the top. What remains of the carved figures shows the lower part of the figure of Herakles standing to the right and holding in his right hand (missing) the lion's skin, and behind him an oval shield covered in its upper part with the aegis. The shield no doubt belongs to the missing figure of Athena.

The inscription on the base reads as follows:

ΙΑΘΗΝΑΙ / .ΑΝΗCΑΝ . . ΗΚϵΝ

If we suppose that no more than half of the monument is lost we may suggest the following restoration of the inscription (suggested by M. Cumont): Ἡρακλεῖ κα]ὶ Ἀθηνᾷ(or Ἀθηναίᾳ) [.]ανης ἀν[έθ]ηκεν. In any case the monument testifies to a cult of Herakles and Athena in the city of Dura. Travesties of Bel and Astarte or the genuine Greek gods, or a mixture of both? The name of the dedicant was, if my restoration of the inscription be correct, a very short one. I have not found one which would suit the extant letters.

2. Fragment of a stele with a low inscribed base. The stele was

broken in antiquity into three parts and later restored (fastened together by means of cement), also in ancient times. The third fragment (the upper part of the stele) is missing. The rest is in good state of preservation. The figures of the bas-relief of the stele are described and commented upon by M. Cumont (pp. 65 ff.). The base of the stele bears an inscription in Greek and Palmyrene. The Palmyrene inscription is explained by Prof. Charles Torrey (pp. 62 f.).

The Greek text reads as follows (see Pl. IV, 1, and p. 62, Fig. 25).

Θεᾷ Νεμέσι Ἰούλιος Αὐρήλιος Μαλωχᾶς
Σουδαίου Πάλμυρηνός εὐξάμενος ἀνέθη / κεν

The Palmyrene text is an exact translation of the Greek (or *vice versa*). It contains the date Sel. 540 = 228/229 A.D. I shall speak of this stele later in this paper. A dedication to Nemesis in Syria, *I.G.R.R.*, III, 1109 (cp. the reference p. 68).

3. Very rough carved and painted bust of a man (H. 0.108 m.; W. 0.09 m.; Th. 0.046 m.-0.062 m.). Below—a rectangular tablet carved out of the lower part of the bust. On the back a prominence with a hole in it for fastening the bust to something. On the front tablet in incised and painted letters the name Κόμοδος.

Fig. 22.
Funeral (?) bust

Is it a rough attempt at making one of those imperial busts which were dedicated in great numbers in the cities and sanctuaries of the Roman Empire by a man who never saw the Emperor or a good portrait of him? Is it the work of a soldier devoted to the Emperor? Or, is it one of those funerary busts so common in ancient cemeteries and is the name that of the man who was buried in the grave over which the stele stood?

4. Slab of a funeral monument, with a Latin carved inscription in four lines. The slab is almost intact, though broken in two parts. The inscription reads as follows:

C. Jul(io) Rufino q(uondam) (centurioni) leg(ionis) IIII Scy(thicae)/
Caes(ius) Domiti/anus amico opt(imo) f(aciendum) c(uravit).

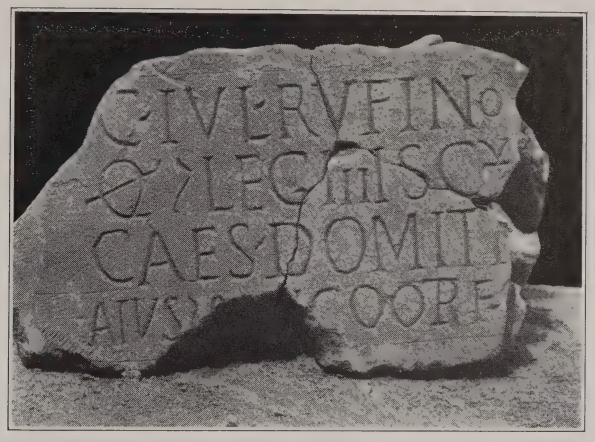


Fig. 23.
Funeral inscription

It was Prof. R. Cagnat who recognized that the inscription is complete and does not refer to the Emperor Domitian. It is well known that the *legio IV Scythica* (Ritterling in *Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll*, XII, 1559 ff.) formed a part of the Syrian army from about 56/7 A.D. to the fifth century A.D., and was stationed probably in North Syria, not far from Antioch. The abbreviation *q(uondam)* is common (the same form Dessau, *I.L.S.*, 2050); cp. the Latin inscription found in Syria, *Princeton Expedition*, Greek and Latin inscriptions A. S. Syria No. 525. The word *quondam* does not show, however, whether the man died at Dura as a veteran or during the time of his service. Unfortunately, his age is not stated.

4. THE INSCRIPTIONS OF THE PALMYRENE GATE AND THE HISTORY OF DURA

The group of inscriptions published above contributes not a little to our knowledge of the vicissitudes of Dura in Roman times and to that of the military history of the province of Syria in general. It is evident that the accumulation of various inscriptions on the walls, and of inscribed votive monuments inside and outside of the south tower of the Palmyrene gate points to the fact that there was a sanctuary of the Fortune of Dura somewhere in or near the south tower. This sanctuary was no doubt the chapel of that detachment of the garrison of Dura which was supposed to guard the Palmyrene gate and a section of the desert road which led through the gate into the city. The Palmyrene gate sanctuary is a counterpart to the sanctuary of the Palmyrene gods discovered in the northeastern corner of the fortress. Whether it was just a modest chapel of a group of soldiers or a large and pretentious sanctuary similar to that of the Palmyrene gods will be shown by further investigation of the place. Nor do we know as yet when the sanctuary was created. The wall inscriptions of the gate do not bear necessarily all of them on the history of the sanctuary. Some of the names carved and scratched on the walls might belong to a time when the sanctuary did not exist and might be plain commemorative inscriptions of people who passed through the gate or stopped for a while under the roofs and the vaults of the gate. Moreover, further discoveries may reveal earlier inscriptions. Thus far the earliest inscription belongs to A.D. 65 (R. 5a), the latest to the year A.D. 262 (R. 9), while the other dated inscriptions belong either to the late second or to the early third century A.D. If the inscriptions do not bear necessarily on the history of the sanctuary, they give, no doubt, valuable information on the history of the gate and on the history of the fortifications of Dura. The fortifications of the city of Dura are supposed to belong to the earliest period of the existence of the city—that is, to the third century B.C. I must confess that I have not been fully convinced by the arguments of MM. Renard and Cumont as regards the date of construction of the city walls and of the large citadel.[1]

In my opinion the only monument of Dura which is without doubt early Hellenistic is the so-called "redoute." When the "redoute"—the

[1] F. Cumont, *Fouilles de Doura-Europos* (Paris, 1926), pp. 1 ff.

early Macedonian fortress—was abandoned and its area was occupied by private houses we do not know as yet. I am confident, however, that the simultaneous existence of the "redoute" and of the citadel, i.e., of two fortresses, one of them *inside* of the wall, is nonsense, and I am inclined to believe that the citadel which forms a logical, constituent part of the city fortifications in general was built after the early citadel—the "redoute"—had been abandoned and built over. Since trial excavations in and around the "redoute" which we carried out in the spring of 1928 have yielded thus far practically nothing but very late sherds and pots, there is a strong presumption for the belief that the early Hellenistic citadel was not abandoned before at least the late Hellenistic period. Further excavations in the "redoute" will show whether I am right or wrong. In any case one of the most important tasks of our excavations at Dura should be a careful investigation of the area of the "redoute" in order to clear up its relation both to the citadel and to the city walls.

It is evident, therefore, how important it is for the history of Dura as a fortress that we have such a wonderful set of inscriptions on the walls of the Palmyrene gate. A careful investigation of their respective dates and of their paleography will no doubt reveal to us the approximate date of the construction both of this majestic building, which was the Palmyrene gate, and of the city fortifications in general. It is not impossible, as I have stated, that for a long period the city of Dura relied entirely upon protection of the early Hellenistic citadel and of its garrison, and that the walls, the towers, and the citadel of the city must be regarded as being of later Hellenistic, not Roman, times. However that may be, the epigraphical material revealed thus far by the excavations of the spring of 1928 is of a comparatively late date. No one inscription helps us to reconstruct the early history of the city, the history of its Macedonian, Partho-macedonian, and early Palmyrene periods. The new historical evidence yielded by our inscriptions bears exclusively on the Roman period in the history of Dura.

Cumont in his masterly sketch of the history of Dura has shown that Dura became a Roman fortress, i.e., was garrisoned by soldiers in Roman service, not before the Parthian expedition of Lucius Verus, the brother of the Emperor Marcus Aurelius.[1] Dura may have been temporarily occupied by Roman soldiers at the time of the great Parthian War of Trajan. We have as yet no conclusive evidence on this point.

[1] F. Cumont, *op. cit.*, Introduction, pp. xlvii ff.

After Hadrian, however, Dura seems to have stood again under the protectorate or domination of the Parthian kings, being apparently one of the military outposts of the Parthian Empire. This statement no doubt is rather surprising. We must not forget that Palmyra, in the days of Hadrian, not only harbored for a while the army which accompanied the Emperor Hadrian during his visit to Syria, but also gave hospitality to the Emperor himself.[1] Nor can we underestimate the fact that the Roman government kept in the time of Hadrian and earlier a strict control over the internal life of the city, whose inhabitants were proud to call themselves Ἁδριανοὶ Παλμυρηνοί.[2] However, in view of the now existing evidence we must accept this statement as a historical fact, provided of course that the inscription (Cumont, *Doura-Europos,* Inscr. No. 134 of 135-136 A.D.) on which this statement is based, and which mentions a, no doubt, Parthian governor of a Greek-speaking city, was really found at Dura. The fact that the inscription was bought at Deir-ez-Zor by the Père Jalabert in 1907 and that Père Jalabert was told that the inscription had been found at Salihiyeh cannot be easily eliminated. However, we must keep in mind that dealers in antiquities in the Orient are notorious liars and that a dealer may have had some reason for concealing the real place of origin of the stone.

However that may be, the new evidence supports the theory of Cumont. The inscription of the altar 2, 1 shows that in the time of Commodus the city was occupied by a detachment of the Roman Syrian army. It does not, however, support the statement of Cumont that the troops of occupation of Dura consisted from the very start of Palmyrene soldiers, i.e., that Dura was occupied and guarded by one or more of these Palmyrene cohorts which according to Cumont had been levied since the last half of Marcus Aurelius' rule by the Romans in the Palmyrene territory; nor his further statement that the defense of the Palmyrene territory and of one part of the Syrian *limes* was intrusted by the Roman military command in Syria to these troops. Cumont based his statement on the fact that at the time of Severus Alexander (in 230 A.D.) we notice in Dura the presence of a twentieth Palmyrene cohort (*cohors XX Palmyrenorum equitata sagittariorum,* Cumont, *Doura-Europos, Inscr.* No. 3; cp. No. 46, and parchemain No. VI).

Since Palmyrene cohorts are unknown (both in the second century and later) in other parts of the Roman Empire, the Palmyrene contin-

[1] *I.G.R.R.,* III, 1054.

[2] See the so-called Tarif of Palmyra, *I.G.R.R.,* III, 1056.

gents of the Roman army being titled *numeri*, not *cohortes*, the presumption is strong in support of the hypothesis of Cumont, that the cohorts were a peculiarity of the territory of Palmyra and that the Roman emperors formed, in the second century A.D., a strong Palmyrene army under the command of Roman officers and generals for defending the territory of Palmyra, an army which consisted of at least twenty regular units (cohorts), each about 1,000 or 500 men strong.

The facts produced by Cumont are strong enough to support his theory. No doubt the picture given by Cumont is correct for the time of Alexander Severus. Is it equally correct for the time of Marcus Aurelius and Commodus? The little we know of the history of Palmyra does not support such an early origin of a special Roman-Palmyrene desert army. No inscriptions of Roman officers of this army have been found as yet in Palmyra. I know that an argument *ex silentio* is a weak argument. However, so many inscriptions have been found in Palmyra that it seems strange that no one of them mentions any Roman officer before the third century A.D. On the other hand auxiliary regiments (*numeri* of *symmachiarii*) of Palmyrene soldiers do not appear as independent units in the provinces of the Roman Empire before Severus and Caracalla.[1] If, moreover, we take into consideration the fact that Palmyra did not receive the title of a Roman colony and the *ius Italicum* before Severus and Caracalla,[2] we may conclude that it was not before the Severi that the special Roman-Palmyrene army was formed. We might connect it with one of the three great Parthian expeditions of the Severi —that of Septimius Severus, that of Caracalla, or that of Alexander Severus. It is impossible in the present condition of our information to decide for one of these dates. All the probability tends to show that it was Septimius Severus who carried out the reform. It was in his time that the *numeri* of Palmyrene mounted archers, made their first appearance in the Roman army as separate units. His oriental connections and his popularity with the population of the Orient might have induced him, along with the desire to make the Palmyrene section of the Syrian *limes* safe from attacks of his Iranian enemies, to take such a decisive step, opposed as it was to the military traditions of Rome, and to form a special army of foot soldiers and mounted archers under the command

[1] J. Carcopino, "Le 'Limes' de Numidie et sa garde Syrienne," in *Syria*, 1925, pp. 121 ff.; cp. H. Dessau, in *Klio* XX (1925), 227 ff.

[2] W. H. Waddington, *Inscr. de la Syrie*, No. 2585, note; cp. J. Carcopino, *op. cit.*, pp. 125 ff.

of Roman officers in the Palmyrene section of the Syrian desert. He did not foresee that this step would lead later to the creation of the independent Palmyrene Empire under Odenath and Zenobia. The title of a Roman colony, given by him to the city of Palmyra and probably at the same time to the city of Dura, might have served him as a juridical legitimation of such a step. Note, however, that it did not change the status of the Palmyrene *numeri* outside of the territory of Palmyra.[1]

However that may be,—further excavations at both Palmyra and Dura will no doubt soon solve this problem,—there is not the slightest doubt that, after the expedition of Lucius Verus, Dura had a garrison which consisted, not of Palmyrene soldiers, but probably of a regular *vexillatio* of the Roman army of occupation in Syria. Our inscriptions 2, 1 and 3, 4 make it certain. The *vexillatio* consisted apparently of a detachment of the *cohors II Ulpia Paphlagonum equitata,* probably of the horsemen of this cohort, and of a group of legionary soldiers who belonged to the *legio IV Scythica* and perhaps of some other units. We must not forget that the II Paphlagonian cohort sent her horsemen to join the huge cavalry *vexillatio* of Marcus Valerius Lollianus during the Parthian expedition of Lucius Verus. It was probably Valerius Lollianus who garrisoned Dura for the first time with Roman soldiers. On the other hand, it is hard to believe that a veteran of the *legio IV Scythica* would go to a desolate place, such as Dura no doubt was, to spend the rest of his days after he had received his *honesta missio* elsewhere. It is more probable that he died at Dura while still in active service, or remained as settler at Dura after a prolonged sojourn there in the capacity of a soldier of Dura's garrison.

From the time of Lucius Verus on, the garrison never left Dura as long as Dura existed as a city and a fortress. Sometime in the third century, however, the *vexillatio* was replaced by one of the Palmyrene cohorts of which I have spoken on p. 43. When did it happen? The question is important since its settlement may help us to solve the problem of the time when the Palmyrene cohorts were first called into life (see pp. 52 f.). Unfortunately, the new inscriptions throw very little light on it. Some help may come from the analysis of the commemorative inscriptions on the walls of the gate.

[1] The *cohors I P(almyrenorum)* (?) *P(hilippiana)* (*C.I.L.*, III, 908) is a later transformation of an original *numerus*. Syrian *cohortes sagittariorum* as regular units of the Roman army appeared very early, not later than the Flavians. See Cichorius, Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E.*, IV, 330.

This group of inscriptions,[1] especially that part of it which was carved or painted by the *beneficiarii* and *statores* of the tribune, is very interesting. The approximate date of the inscriptions is certain. The inscription of Rabbula the *stator* (R. 11) is dated in the year 208 A.D.; on the other hand, the inscriptions of Aurelius Antoninus (R. 2, 3, 5, 6, 7) and of Euphratas (R. 14), later Aurelius Euphratas (C. 8), though not dated, show that it was the *constitutio Antoniniana* of 212 A.D. which conferred the Roman franchise on the two men (and on the third *beneficiarius*—Aurelius Themarsas as well). We do not know the original name of Aurelius Antoninus which he changed into his new name—the name of the Emperor. The former name of Aurelius Euphratas was Euphratas; he simply added the *gentilicium* of Caracalla to his Greek name.

The character of the service of these noncommissioned officers (*immunes*) is well known from parallels both in Syria and in other provinces.[2] No doubt the *beneficiarii* were here, as elsewhere, especially since the time of Septimius Severus, commanders of a special detachment, whose duty it was to keep watch over the main gate of Dura and over a section of the desert road which led from Dura probably to Palmyra and perhaps also over the collection of custom duties. Such military posts (*stationes*) commanded by *beneficiarii* are typical for the late second and for the third centuries A.D. Of the *statores* we know very little.[3] It is the first time that a group of their inscriptions has been dis-

[1] On the religious significance of the formula *μνησθῇ*, see Cumont, *op. cit.*, p. 351.

[2] The fundamental paper on the *beneficiarii* has been written by A. V. Domaszewski, *Westd. Zeitschr.*, XXI (1902), 158 ff.; cp. my article in *Bull. de la Comm. Arch.*, XL, 1 ff. (in Russian) and *Inscr. orae Sept. P.E.*, I, 2, pp. 509 ff. Some new evidence on the *beneficiarii* will be found in the article of M. Abramič in *Starinar*, 3d ser., I (1922), 57 ff. (in Serbian).

[3] On the *statores* see Th. Mommsen, *Staatsrecht*, II, 213, n. 4; A. von Domaszewski in *Wiener Studien*, XXIV (1902), 356 ff.; *id.*, "Die Rangordnung des römischen Heeres," in *Bonn. Jahrb.*, CXVII (1906), 39, 55, 74; R. Cagnat, in Daremberg et Saglio, *Dict. d. Ant.*, *s.v.* A certain number of *statores* were stationed in Rome and were held at the disposal of the Emperor. Another group is known in Egypt: they belonged to the staff of the governor. In the Roman field army they belonged either to the staff of the *legatus legionis* (Domaszewski, *Rangordnung*, pp. 39 and 74) or (more commonly) to that of a *praefectus alae* (Domaszewski, p. 55). It is the first time that we find *statores* of a tribune. Their rôle as police officers is stated in a Greek inscription from Thrace *I.G.R.R.*, I, 561. . . . *στάτωρ [φυλά]/ξας ἀμέμ[πτως]/τὴν στατι[ῶνα]/τὸ ἄγαλμα ἔ[στησεν]/εὐτυχῶς*. Like the *beneficiarii* they were no doubt in charge of police stations on the main roads of the Roman Empire. The Greek inscription quoted above was found in the ruins of a blockhouse on the road between Nicopolis and Philip-

covered. Their duty seems to have been to act as military policemen, probably under the command of, or along with, the *beneficiarii*. The best parallel to the gate garrison or *statio* of Dura is furnished by a similar *statio* at the main gate of the Roman fortress at Aï-Todor (ancient name Charax) in the Crimea. While most of the *stationes* of the *beneficiarii* thus far discovered used to be just blockhouses, situated on the main military roads of the Roman Empire, we have but few instances of a *statio* connected with a regular fortress and with its main gate. Note that the soldiers at Charax—most of them Thracians—had their own sanctuary, a sanctuary of their own Thracian gods, just outside of the main gate of the fortress.[1]

Unfortunately, however, no one of the *beneficiarii* or *statores* tells us to what military unit he belonged. They simply say that each of them formed a part of the staff of the tribune. This statement does not help us very much. It was very likely a tribune (or a prefect) who was the commander of the *vexillatio* which occupied Dura after Lucius Verus. It was, in like manner, a tribune who was the chief of the twentieth Palmyrene cohort, which was stationed in Dura in the days of Alexander Severus. The tribune was no doubt both in the earlier and the later period the military governor of the city, and the *beneficiarii* and *statores* of the gate were no doubt his subordinates. As a rule, the *beneficiarii* belonged to the staff of the provincial governors. There are, however, some exceptions and we know of some *beneficiarii tribuni* in other provinces of the Roman Empire.[2]

popolis. It is very difficult to discriminate between the *beneficiarii* and the *statores*. In one inscription found in Dacia in Alsókosály (*C.I.L.*, III, 825) a *beneficiarius* is acting in *m*[*u*]*nere stat*[*o*]*r*[*is*]. In Dessau, *I.L.S.*, 2523, a *stator* of the *ala Norica*, though of German origin, is a Roman citizen.

[1] On the *statio* of Aï-Todor see my articles quoted in note 2, p. 55. We may compare also the military camp at Intercisa (Dunapentele) in Pannonia. The garrison of this camp was formed by a Syrian cohort: *cohors miliaria Hemesenorum civium Romanorum sagittariorum*. The cohort was brought to Pannonia by Emperor Hadrian and was no doubt first created by Emperor Trajan. It was recruited from Roman citizens, residents of Syria, or from natives to whom Roman citizenship was granted when they were enrolled into the cohort. In the ruins of the camp were discovered many dedications of *beneficiarii tribuni*. Some of the *beneficiarii* were soldiers of the *legio I Adiutrix*, some others of the *cohors Hemesenorum:* A very striking parallel to the *beneficiarii* of Dura. On the cohort, see Cichorius in Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E.*, IV, 295, and S. Paulovics, "Die römische Ansiedlung von Dunapentele (Intercisa)" in *Archaeologia Hungarica*, II (1926), 96 ff. Note also the many *decuriones* of this cohort mentioned in the inscriptions found at Dunapentele.

[2] See, e.g., Dessau, *I.L.S.*, 2405 and 2407.

Some help might be derived from the analysis of the names of the *beneficiarii* and *statores*. Is it an accident that almost all the *beneficiarii* have Greek names (Hermias, Euphratas, and Theodotus [in an unpublished dipinto; cp., however, Themarsas]), while most of the *statores* have Semitic names (Rabbula, Mokimos [unpublished inscription], Heliodorus, and Apollonius [these last probably translations of Semitic names])? No doubt all of them were recruited in Syria, if not in Dura herself. It would be premature, however, to say that the promotion to a *beneficiarius* was reserved for the more Hellenized common soldiers.

Very puzzling is an observation which may be an illusion. Is it an accident that after 212 the *beneficiarii* appear as Roman citizens, assume new names, or add to their former name the *gentilicium* Aurelius, while the *statores* do not? And how proud are the *beneficiarii* of their new status! Look at our friend Aurelius Antoninus! He cannot stop writing his new name on the gate wall and recommending himself in his new capacity of a Roman citizen and under his new name to the attention of the goddess! As proud is he of his new name as many an Egyptian boy who received as a marine of the Roman navy a new Roman name.[1]

It is well known that the question whether the *constitutio Antoniniana* did include in the franchise all the inhabitants of the Roman Empire or not, is far from being settled.[2] Equally unsettled is the further question: If not all were admitted, who were those who were excluded? The controversy is centered on the reading and interpretation of the famous P. Giss. 40, especially on the meaning of the term *dediticii* as used in this papyrus. I cannot discuss the controversy in this place. Our case is a peculiar one. What was the juridical situation of Palmyra and of her territory from the Roman point of view? The city of Palmyra received probably from Septimius Severus the right of a Roman colony, and so, probably, did Dura. Does it mean that Palmyra became a regular Roman provincial city? The fact that the Palmyrene soldiers who served in the Roman army outside of the Palmyrene territory were not enrolled into *cohortes* and *alae,* but into *numeri* and were treated as *symmacharii,* i.e., members of a barbarian tribe, of a *gens,* shows that the title of colony did not change either the juridical status or the constitution of Palmyra and of the other cities in her territory.

[1] T. G. Winter, "In the Service of Rome," in *Class. Phil.*, XXII (1927), 237 ff.

[2] New impetus to the controversy has been given by the brilliant doctoral dissertation of E. Bickermann, "Das Edikt des Kaisers Caracalla," in *P. Giss.* XL (1926). On the state of the controversy see P. Meyer, in *Zeitschr. der Sav. St. f. Rechts. Rom. Abt.*, XLVIII (1928), 594 ff.

And no radical change was caused at Palmyra by the *constitutio Antoniniana*. The citizens of Palmyra did not acquire *en bloc* the Roman franchise. Roman citizenship was acquired by a few families who added to their Semitic names the Roman *gentilicia*—Julii, Aurelii, and Septimii—and that was all. There is even a doubt whether this group of families received the franchise from Caracalla. Some might have received it (and in addition the title of a Roman knight) earlier from Septimius Severus, some later, e.g., from Elagabalus or Alexander.

It is evident, therefore, that the *gens* or the *gentes,* who lived in the territory of Palmyra, did not partake of the blessings of the *constitutio Antoniniana*. What about the soldiers? There is very little doubt that the soldiers of the regular auxiliary units of the Roman army became as such Roman citizens after the *constitutio*. If so, the distinction between the *beneficiarii* and *statores* (if any), as regards the privilege of Roman citizenship, might prove that these officers did not belong to a regular unit. We may ask, therefore, was not this distinction made because the officers belonged to a Palmyrene cohort, i.e., because the soldiers of the Palmyrene cohorts had not received the franchise from Caracalla? This attractive hypothesis does not account, however, for the fact that in the Latin graffito, published by Cumont, *Doura-Europos,* Inscr. No. 46, where four soldiers speak of having done some work beginning from the *"purta sagittariorum,"* all these soldiers have the *gentilicium* Aurelius, and Roman, Greek, or Hellenized *cognomina*. Or shall we assume that the four men are officers and that it was their men who carried out the work (probably repair of the wall)?

The result of our investigation is indeed meager. The evidence as produced above rather points to the fact that the *beneficiarii* and *statores* belonged in Dura, in an exceptional way, to a Palmyrene cohort and not to a regular unit of the Syrian army, consequently not to the *vexillatio* of the earlier times, and that therefore it was under Septimius Severus that the Palmyrenes first occupied the fortress of Dura. However, we must wait for further evidence to decide the question in a final way.

The occupation of Dura by a Palmyrene cohort does not imply, of course, that Dura became again dependent on Palmyra. However, it was so as long as the Roman authority in Syria was strong. As soon as it began to decline, the situation changed. I am inclined to believe that the decline of the Roman authority in Palmyra began as early as in the time of Alexander Severus. I regard it as very probable that it was he who increased the number of Palmyrene cohorts and transformed the

few auxiliary corps of Septimius Severus into a regular Romano-Palmyrene army, more Palmyrene than Roman. His long stay at Palmyra in 232 A.D. had taught him to appreciate the wealth and the power of the city. Moreover, he needed bitterly her help in his difficult plight during the Persian war. The city was ready to help him, to feed and to quarter his army and his court (*I.G.R.R.*, III, 1033). She expected, however, some compensation. I am inclined to think that the compensation took the form of a restoration (at least partial) of the former independence of the city and of an increase in the size of the army which had to defend the city. With these grants to Palmyra I would like to connect our inscription 3, 2—a dedication to Nemesis of a Palmyrene grandee, Julius Aurelius Malochas Sudaei (228 A.D.). His name is typical for the group of rich Palmyrene merchants, Roman citizens, of which I have spoken above (the name Malochas is not common at Palmyra [see *I.G.R.R.*, III, 1042], nor is the name of his father).[1] We might explain his dedication by some personal affairs of his. I prefer, however, to think that Malochas went to Dura, not as a plain merchant or leader of a caravan (*συνοδιάρχης*), but on a political mission connected with the early troubles of the coming Persian war.

How long the garrison of Palmyrene soldiers effectively protected Dura we do not know. Our scanty literary and epigraphical evidence on this point has been discussed by Cumont. The last year's excavations have yielded some new and interesting material which bears on this problem. I noticed repeatedly that most of the monuments of the gate-sanctuary had been smashed to pieces at a certain time, probably later than Alexander's rule, and afterward restored. Cumont noticed that the same happened to the sanctuary of the Palmyrene gods and to the large Latin inscription in honor of Alexander Severus. The monument to which this inscription belonged was, however, not restored. The fragments of the slab were re-used when the sanctuary of the Palmyrene gods was rebuilt, probably in the late third century. Thus we may conclude that both the gate and the wall corner-sanctuaries were pillaged and their monuments smashed to pieces at a certain time after the rule

[1] The name Sudaios occurs in a late inscription of Syria (R. P. Mouterde in *Syria*, VI (1925), 243 ff.: *Ἄγγαιος Ἴλλου ἐσφάγη ἐτῶν λ' ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ ὑπὸ δεκαδάρχῃ Σουδαίας περὶ μηδενὸς*). Mouterde gives an erroneous interpretation of the inscription—it is not impossible to regard the name *Σουδαίας* as the personal name of the policeman who killed the poor man "for nothing," and not as the name of a village. I am glad that my interpretation of the inscription coincides with that of Professor C. Torrey (p. 63).

of Alexander Severus. Later on most of the monuments and the temples were restored. It is very probable that the same fate met a third sanctuary which was located—I venture to suggest—in the northwestern corner of the fortifications. We made a trial trench in this place and found that a large building had been destroyed here by fire.

Another observation which I made in the gate-sanctuary is that the altars of the sanctuary and some of the furniture of the temple (the little incense-altar) were covered by a layer of stucco, no doubt in order to protect them. It seems, however, that nobody violated or destroyed these monuments after the sanctuary was abandoned. We found the gate in more or less the same state as the last occupants of the gate had left it. Some traces of fire which I noticed on the south wall of the gate ought not to be explained by a fire which broke out before the gate was abandoned. It might have been fires of Arabs who camped here no doubt from time to time down to the modern period.

Such are the facts. They tell their own story. It is evident that Dura was captured sometime after Alexander by enemies who hated and despised both the Romans and the Palmyrenes and their religion. These enemies were no doubt Persians, followers of the Zoroastrian faith, for whom the Semitic religion was an abomination. This capture of the city must be ascribed to the time of the great war when the Roman emperor Valerian was vanquished and captured and the Persians overran the Roman province of Syria as far as Antioch.

A little later the Persians were driven out by the Palmyrenes and it was no doubt the Palmyrenes who restored the military sanctuaries of Dura, i.e., their own sanctuaries, those of their own cohort.

It is significant that the *stele* of Julius Aurelius Malochas was restored and the monument of Alexander Severus was left alone and its fragments re-used. The Palmyrenes did not care for the Romans at that time. Note that the latest dated inscription of the gate is that of 262 A.D. (R. 9). The re-occupation happened probably soon after 260, the date of the Persian invasion. Soon, however, Dura was abandoned by her defenders, probably at the time when all the forces of the Palmyrene Empire were mobilized to combat the Emperor Aurelian, the destroyer of the short-lived Palmyrene Empire (272 A.D.). All that we know of Dura in the last moment of its life shows that about this time Dura was left alone and abandoned forever. It is idle to speculate in this place on the exact date of this event. The rich finds of coins during the campaign of 1928-29 at Dura will soon solve this problem.

IV

THE TWO PALMYRENE INSCRIPTIONS

BY CHARLES TORREY

These inscriptions have already received mention in the report of the excavations. See pages 20, 21, 45, 48, where will be found full details in regard to the monuments to which they belong, their location, and the interesting fact that both monuments were broken and afterward repaired in ancient times. The fracture in each case passes through the middle of the inscription, but fortunately without loss of any of the characters (see Pl. IV, 4).

THE INSCRIPTION ON THE LITTLE ALTAR

This votive inscription, in five lines, dedicates the monument to the tutelary deity Fortuna (Gad, Τύχη) of Dura. The characters, which are well drawn, are of the "Syriac" type found most commonly in inscriptions of the latter half of the second century or the first quarter of the third century A.D. As will be seen in the facsimile, made from a squeeze (Fig. 24), the damage to the text caused by the breaking and repairing of the monument consists merely in the separation of the initial letters from the remainder in each line, leaving an intermediate blank space of a little more than 2 cm. where the fracture was filled in with cement. Small portions of a few letters are missing, but in every case the reading is certain.

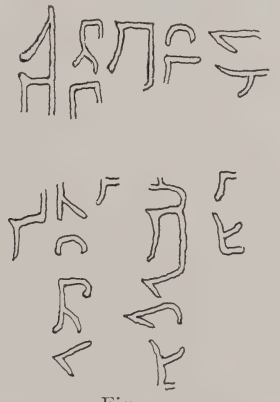


Fig. 24.

עבד | מקימו | בר | ירחבולא | לגדא

Made (and dedicated) by Muqīmu, son of
Yarkhibōlē, to the Gad (of Dura).

The personal names are so well known as to require no comment. The name of the deity Gad, Tyche, appears frequently in the Semitic and Greek inscriptions of Syria, the Hauran, and Palmyra. The form גדא, with the determinative ending, is found also in the much-discussed Nabataean inscription from Kanatha, in which the persons who made and dedicated the monument term themselves רחמי גדא, "lovers of the Gad," that is, of the patron deity of their city. (See the *Répertoire d'épigraphie Sémitique,* I, 53; Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris,* I, 74.)

THE BILINGUAL INSCRIPTION

This is a votive inscription to Nemesis, in Greek and Palmyrene, dated in the year 540 (228/229 A.D.). In this case, also, as in the preceding, the text has suffered no loss through the damage to the monument (see Pl. IV, 1). There is a blank space less than 1 cm. in width at the line of fracture, filled in with cement, and in each line a portion of a single letter is missing. See the facsimile, made from a squeeze. The inscription is finely executed throughout, in characters 12 mm.-13 mm. in height. In the Palmyrene portion the ornamental alphabet of the best period is employed.

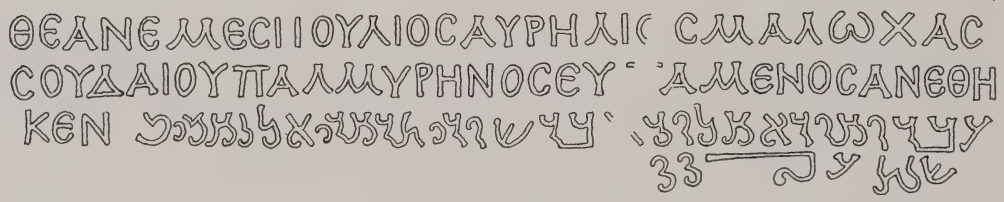


Fig. 25.

Θεᾷ Νεμέσι Ἰούλιος Αὐρήλιος Μαλωχὰς Σουδαίου Παλμυρηνὸς εὐξάμενος ἀνέθηκεν. Votive offering of Julius Aurelius Malochas, son of Soudai, of Palmyra, to the goddess Nemesis.

עבד ומודא מלוכא בר שודי תדמריא לנמסים
שנת 540

Made and dedicated by Mālōkhā bar Shūdai, the Palmyrene, to Nemesis.

The name of the deity Nemesis, here found for the first time in a Semitic inscription, is simply transliterated from the Greek. For other mention of the goddess in Greek inscriptions from the eastern Roman provinces see Waddington 1893 (from Banias in Palestine), and Cagnat 739, XIX; 1479 (both from Asia Minor).

The two Palmyrene personal names are interesting. Mālōkhā, with the form of the Aramaic *nomen agentis,* "counselor," has actually been found in only one other Semitic (Palmyrene) inscription; see Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris,* III, 141. It can be supplied with certainty, however, in the missing portion of the Semitic text in a Palmyrene bilingual inscription which has often been published and discussed; see Waddington 2608; Cagnat 1042; *Ephemeris* II, 307; Chabot, *Choix d'inscriptions de Palmyre,* pp. 51 ff. In this inscription, dated 576 (265 A.D.), Julius Aurelius Septimius Malkhu bar Mālōkhā bar Nassūm dedicates a column to Septimius Worōd, the prefect of the citadel of Palmyra. This Mālōkhā was thus a contemporary of the one named at Dura, and probably belonged to the same family. The Roman imperial names Julius Aurelius, prefixed to the Palmyrene name of a high civil or military officer, appear several times in the inscriptions of this period.

The name Shudai occurs here for the first time. It is evidently the verbal noun *shūdāi(ā),* "promise, acknowledgment," familiar in the Edessene dialect. Σουδαίας in Josephus, *Antt.* X, 153, is merely the result of a corrupt Hebrew text.

Addendum. After the above had been delivered to the printer I was informed by my colleague, Professor Rostovtzeff, that the name Σουδαίας occurs also on a stele found in the Hauran and now preserved in the museum of the Institut de Damas. The inscription, accompanied by a good facsimile of the very interesting stele, is published by Mouterde, "Inscriptions grecques de l'Institut de Damas," in *Syria* VI (1925), 243 f. The text reads: Ἀγγαῖος Ἴλλου ἐσφάγη ἐτῶν λ΄ ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ ὑπὸ δεκαδάρχη (*sic*) Σουδαίας περὶ μηδενός. "Aggai, son of Illus, thirty years of age, was slain in the country by the decurion Soudaia for no (just) cause." As Cumont acutely conjectures in a footnote (*ibid.*), the unusual attitude of the figure pictured on the stele, with upraised hands, shows him in the act of invoking vengeance on his murderer; an explanation which tallies perfectly with the interpretation given above. Mouterde, not recognizing the proper name, read σοῦ δάϊ[ο]ς, rendering thus: "Aggaios, fils de Illos, a été tué, à l'âge de trente ans, dans la

contrée. Decurion, tu ne fus cruel à personne." Since the stele has been supposed to date from the third or fourth century A.D., and since the name Aggai is common in the Palmyrene inscriptions, it is quite possible that the officer here named is the same who is mentioned in the inscription found at Dura. How Professor Rostovtzeff may himself have interpreted the inscription from the Hauran, I do not know.

V

EXPLANATION OF THE BAS-RELIEF OF NEMESIS

BY F. CUMONT

Above the base bearing the inscription (Pl. IV, 1, and Fig. 25) are to be seen two standing figures in bas-relief. On the right the goddess, which the dedication designates as Nemesis, is shown in front face supporting her weight on the right leg, the left slightly to one side. She is completely enveloped in long garments; a tunic which falls in large folds to her feet, and a mantle which is passed over her head, winds about the figure, and falls obliquely over the left knee. The attributes which this Nemesis bore are no longer recognizable. She appears to hold in the left hand a foot rule "to indicate that one should do nothing beyond measure."[1] She is without wings, and in this respect this late marble still reproduces the most ancient type of this divinity.[2] At her right foot is found her customary emblem, a griffin upright, with its foot resting on a wheel.[3]

Facing the goddess, the person making the sacrifice represents doubtless the author of the dedication, Malochas, son of Sudaius of Palmyra. He is dressed in a long-sleeved tunic, and in a cloak which passes over his left shoulder and folds about his figure. His feet are covered with low shoes. This costume of the people of Dura when offering sacrifice is already known to us from the frescoes of the temple of the gods of Palmyra.[4] The one performing the sacrifice lets fall particles of incense upon an altar (*thymiaterion*) similar to those which appear in the same temple frescoes, dating from the Roman period.[5]

Finally, in the upper part of the field, left free, between the one per-

[1] Cf. Vettius Valens, VI, 9, p. 261, 29 (Kroll): Νέμεσις χαλιναγωγὸς ἔπεστι κατὰ τὸν μυθικὸν λόγον πῆχυν κατέχουσα, μηδὲν πράσσειν ὑπὲρ τὸ μέτρον ἐμφαίνουσα, καὶ τροχὸν ὑποκείμενον τῷ σφυρῷ κέκτηται σημαίνουσα τὰ λεγόμενα ἄστατα καὶ ἀβέβαια τυγχάνειν. Cf. Roscher *Lexikon, s.v.* "Nemesis," pp. 134 and 146.

[2] Cf. Roscher, *op. cit.*, pp. 145 ff. The new relief deserves to be studied from an artistic point of view. Did it reproduce the statue of Rhamnus?

[3] On this emblem cf. Perdrizet, *Bull. corr. hell.*, XXXVI (1912), 260 f.

[4] *Fouilles de Doura,* plates XLV, LV.

[5] *Fouilles de Doura-Europos,* tableau vi, p. 91, and plates XLIX ff.; tableau xvii, plate LV, and p. 124.

1. VOTIVE STELE TO NEMESIS
8 MAY 1928

2. THE THYMIATERION

3. THE BAS-RELIEF OF HERCULES

4. THE ALTAR WITH THE PALMYRENE INSCRIPTION

forming the sacrifice and the goddess, is to be seen a bust of the Sun, with halo and rays.

It is the presence of this bust which lends the principal interest to this representation, since no other, so far as I know, associates the Sun with Nemesis. However, a sepulchral inscription of Alexandria[1] will show us at once the *motif* of this union of the two divinities: "To god the highest and surveyor of all things, and to Sun, and to the Nemeses, Arsinoë, dead before her time, raises her hands: if anyone has given her poison or had joy in her death or shall rejoice in it, visit vengeance upon them."[2] The deceased Arsinoë, who attributes her premature death to poisoning or to some other malevolent cause invokes against her murderers, or those to whom her death would bring joy, the highest god, the Sun, and the Nemeses.[3] In all the Orient the Sun[4] was regarded as a god of justice or retribution, who pursued malefactors, unveiled their hidden guilt, and punished them. It is plain, therefore, why the Sun is joined to Nemesis, the goddess of vengeance, who in like manner chastised those who transgressed divine law.

Perhaps there is also a more special astrological reason for this association. The planet Saturn is for certain astrologers the *aster* of Nemesis.[5] Following, then, a system of substitutions, of which we have other examples, Saturn was regarded by the "Chaldeans" as the Sun of night; and we find in fact, at the end of paganism, Nemesis considered as a

[1] *Bulletin de L'Institut égyptien,* 1872-73, p. 116, n. 12; Schürer, *Sitzungsberichte, Akad. Berlin,* March 1897, p. 213. Cf. my paper cited in n. 4 below, p. 76, n. 22. My article was written before I read the paper of H. Volkmann, "Studien zum Nemesiskult," *Arch. f. Rel.,* XXVI (1928), 296 ff., who deals on p. 306 with the relations between Nemesis and Helios.

[2] Cf. for this inscription Perdrizet, *Bull. corr. hell.,* XXXVIII (1914), 93. Cf. also *C.I.L.,* VI, 2821, a dedication by two pretorians in Belgium: "I.O.M. et Marti et Nemesi et Soli et Victoriae."

[3] On the use of this plural, cf. Isidore Levy, "Cinquantenaire de l'École des Hautes Études, Mélanges historiques (Paris, 1921), p. 279. The *Nemeses* took the place of the two *Mêt* (n'M'tp), Egyptian personifications of Justice and Truth.

[4] Cf. my paper "Il sole vindice dei delitti," in *Memorie della pontifice accademia Romana di Archeologia,* Serie iii, I (1923), 65 ff.

[5] Achill. *Isag:* **φαίνων παρὰ Ἕλλησι, παρὰ δὲ Αἰγυπτίοις Νεμέσεως ἀστήρ.** It is possible that Nemesis was substituted for the Egyptian goddess Bast. Cf. Roscher, *Lexikon, s.v.* "Planeten," p. 2527, the note of Boll. Vettius Valens i, 1, p. 2, 22 (Kroll): **ἐστὶ δὲ Κρόνος Νεμέσεως ἀστήρ.** Cf. *Cat. codd. astrol.,* viii, 1, p. 151, 13. **Νέμεσιν ἐν τοῖς τοῦ Κρόνου.** In the doctrine of divination Nemesis depends upon Saturn. Cf. Bouche-Lecercq, *Astrol. grecque,* p. 307.

solar power. We might find thus, joined on our bas-relief, two astral divinities, one of day, the other of night,[1] whose office it was to prevent the escape of the guilty.[2] But this is perhaps to search too far afield for the significance of a union which more general motives suffice to explain.

The monuments of Nemesis found hitherto in Syria are not numerous,[3] and this one of Dura is therefore the more valuable. The goddess whose traditional function is to repress violence, to chastise *hybris,* was especially honored by the Roman soldiers,[4] and it is significant that this bas-relief should have been found in a garrison. However, the dedicator is not a soldier, but doubtless a merchant or a caravan-trader of Palmyra. For all the tribes of the desert to punish murder by murder was, in antiquity as today, a sacred duty. Nemesis, divinity of vengeance, must have thus become in Syria a divinity especially of blood feud or vendetta.

NOTES ON THE ALTAR MARKED WITH GRAFFITI

The designs traced with a sharp implement on this altar are very crude, and are evidently the work, not of a professional sculptor, but of some worshiper (see Pl. IV, 2 and Pl. V). They may possibly be by several hands, and they need not all have been made at the same time. There is no indication that any connection between them should be established, though all have to do with the life of the camp and the cult of soldiers.

Anterior Face (A). In the middle stands a *vexillum* (regimental colors) like the one which is shown in the fresco of the tribune (*Dura-Europos,* Pl. L ff., p. 111). It should properly, just as the one referred to, be surmounted by a crown or wreath, but the border did not permit it to be drawn completely. The circles placed under this crown and on

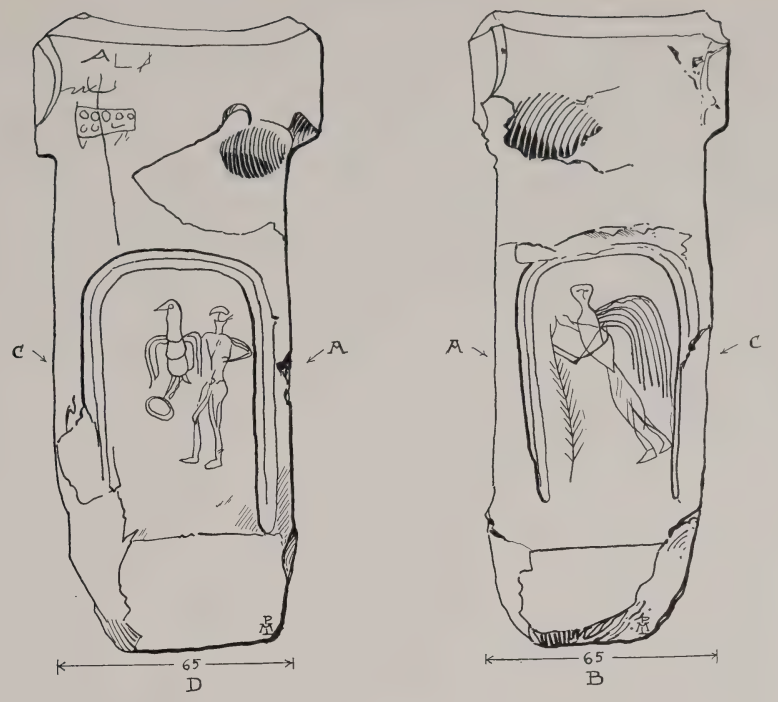
[1] I would refer to what I have said in *Syria,* IX (1928), 104, apropos of a monument of Palmyra.

[2] Cf. Perdrizet, *Bull. corr. hell.,* XXXVIII (1914), apropos of a bas-relief of Salonica: "Le criminel se reveille en sursant sous le poids de la déesse; elle l'a surpris pendant son sommeil, car elle est la déesse du remords qui torture les nuits le coupable."

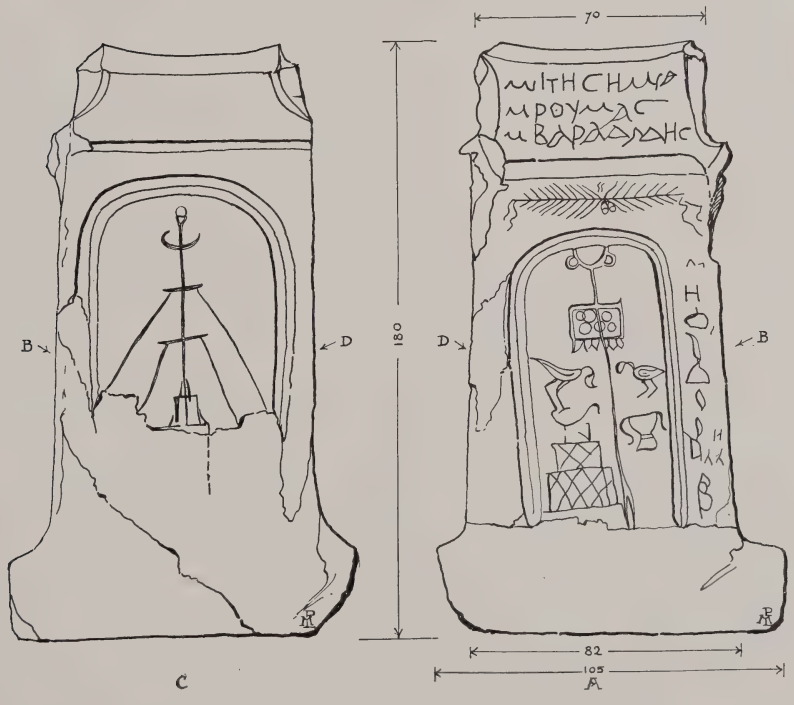
[3] The most important seems to be the inscription found in the grotto of Pan at Paneas, *I.G.R.R.,* III, 11.

[4] Cf. Wissowa, *Religion der Römer,* p. 315. She was worshiped also by the gladiators. Cf. the curious inscription *C.I.L.,* V, 3466: "Planetam suum procurare vos moneo; in Nemese ne fidem habeatis; sic sum deceptus." Cf. Perdrizet, *Bull. corr. hell.,* XXXVIII (1914), 89-100.

PLATE V



THE THYMIATERION



the stuff, or field, of the standard serve as a brief indication of *phalerae,* or military decorations obtained by the cohort, whose flag we see here. The lower part of the shaft of the vexillum is forked, to fix it more solidly in the ground. To the left of this flag is seen a building of three stories, which narrows as it rises, and of which the highest is surmounted by a bird holding apparently a leaf in its beak. We have here a representation of the funeral pyre, on which the bodies of the emperors were burned, as an emblem of the imperial apotheosis, such as appears in some commemorative coins.[1] The number of stories was not always the same, but the funeral pyre of Pertinax, according to Dio Cassius, numbered three, as in this example.[2] The bird which surmounts this wooden structure is the eagle, which according to ancient belief carried the soul of the deified emperor to heaven (Dio, lvi, 42; Herodian, iv, 2, 11. Cf. my *Études Syriennes,* pp. 72 f.). The leaf which the bird holds in its beak I cannot interpret, unless it be a wreath, emblem of victory over death, which on some other coins the eagle carries in his beak.[3] This representation recalls thus in its *ensemble* the double cult of the colors and of the emperors, which was observed everywhere in the Roman army (Domaszewski, *Religion des römischen Heeres*).

On the right side of the *vexillum* is drawn a crater or mixing bowl, and higher up a bird. The crater of Bacchus may recall the sacred repast, with wine generously dispensed, celebrated in Syrian cults,[4] but the significance of the bird and even its kind is obscure to me.

Right face (B). Winged victory, flying and holding in both hands a large palm. The cult of Victory is so natural among soldiers, that no further explanation seems necessary.

Left face (D). A bird perched upon a circle, held in the hand of a person; presumably a soldier holding the eagle of the Roman standard. The circle should represent the upper part of the standard, of which the shaft is not shown. Higher up is seen a *vexillum,* similar to the one on the principal face.

Posterior face (C). The lower part of this representation is mutilated, and it is therefore hazardous to propose an interpretation of it. We see standing on a rectangular base a spear ending in a crescent and a sphere, emblems which appear often together on the upper part of

[1] Beurlier, *Le Culte imperial,* 1891, pp. 64 ff.
[2] Cf. Saglio-Pottier, *Dict. des Antiq., s.v.* "Apotheosis."
[3] Beurlier, p. 68.
[4] Cf. my *Religions Orientales* (3d ed.), Chap. V, n. 52.

standards.[1] On the shaft are fastened two horizontal supports, from which oblique lines come down on either side. The shaft is not drawn completely, or has become invisible; but assuming its presence we may conjecture a brief representation of a tent with open flap or door,[2] of which the central support carried the customary symbols of the standard. However, I propose this explanation with much reserve.

[1] On their significance cf. Saglio-Pottier, *Dict. des Antiq., s.v.* "Signa."
[2] Cf. Reinach, *Repertoire des reliefs,* I, 253.

VI

A FRAGMENT OF MUSSULMAN POTTERY FOUND IN A TOMB OF DURA

BY RAYMOND KOECHLIN

The fragment of Mussulman pottery which was found in a tomb of Dura[1] was brought to Paris where I was able to examine it; it is of particular interest because it belongs to a series now accurately identified and which can be dated within a few decades.

The clay, carefully levigated, quite fine and well fired, is covered with a white slip on which the decoration was painted in cobalt blue, and a coating of enamel completely covers it, but has now lost its luster by long burial in the damp ground. At first glance, and even in a mere description one easily recognizes the white series with blue decoration which the excavations of Samarra, Susa, and Rhages have brought to light in a number of examples.[2] The variety of decoration of these pieces is remarkable. On some the *motifs* are very elementary—half-circles and curious commas ornament the border; on others there occur inscriptions in Cufic characters or large flowers, daisies, poppies, and lilies; while on certain others the magic *motif* called Solomon's-seal is found. The forms are no less diverse—large shallow tripods, flaring bowls with straight rims, and ewers. The fragment found at Dura is too small to determine exactly the decoration and form, but it is closely related to pieces from Samarra and Susa in the museums of Berlin and the Louvre, and to those which museums and private collections have procured from clandestine excavators at Rhages. These pieces form one of the most characteristic groups of early Persian and Mesopotamian pottery.

When the first specimens of this series were published by Maurice Pezard[3] he was in doubt as to their date, attributing them to the ninth

[1] The fragment was found in the citadel in or near one of the graves. Note of the editors.

[2] F. Sarre, "Die Ausgrabungen von Samarra II," *Die Keramik* (Berlin, 1925, 4to, p. 44, and Pl. XVIII. Raymond Koechlin, *Les Céramiques musulmanes de Suse* (Paris, 1928), 4to, p. 58 (T. XIX, "Des mémoires de la mission archéologique de Perse").

[3] *La Céramique archaïque de l'Islam* (Paris, 1920, 4to), Pls. CIII-CIX, and p. 123.

or tenth century; nothing either in the excavations of Dieulafoy and de Morgan at Susa, or in those of Rhages made it possible to determine an exact chronology. But after the discoveries of Sarre and Herzfeld at Samarra the question of date was solved; Samarra, founded in 838 A.D. on the Tigris by the caprice of a caliph, was definitely abandoned by his successors in 883 A.D.; therefore, the finds at that place can be dated exactly in the ninth century, and one would doubtless be right in assigning to this epoch or to the beginning of the tenth century the pottery analogous to that of Samarra excavated in other localities of the immediate or more distant neighborhood. This is the date we have proposed for the pottery of Susa, and we should, because of the discovery of dated coins, advance at least certain series even up to the end of the tenth century.[1] The ninth or tenth century is then the date that can be fixed with absolute certainty for the fragment of Dura.

From what region did the fragment come? In studying the pottery of Susa and that of Samarra, so exactly similar, it is important to recall the custom of the sovereigns, and to which all historians bear testimony, to people their capitals with craftsmen deported from conquered towns or simply from the diverse provinces of their empire. Now these craftsmen brought with them their traditions and their local methods of work, and it is this which explains the relative unity of Mussulman art in regions widely separated. Very probably the caliph who built Samarra introduced potters from elsewhere, and as Rhages was one of the great ceramic centers of the Orient it was from this capital doubtless that he selected them. Proof of this is the analogy of certain products of Rhages and of Samarra, especially the similarity of the specimens with decorations in cobalt blue on a white ground. Furthermore, the workshops newly established in a large town did not fail to export their products to quite a distance; at one time it was thought that all the pottery of Susa, similar to that of Samarra, came from that place. We have not accepted this view, but it is not to be doubted that the piece found at Dura came from one of these centers. Perhaps a caravan brought it thither from Rhages, the place of origin of the type; but more probably it came from Samarra. It was easy to transport merchandise from the Tigris to the Euphrates, and it could ascend that river without trouble as far as Dura.

[1] Col. Allotte de la Fuye, "Monnaies trouvées à Suse," *Revue d'Assyriologie*, 1927, pp. 127 ff.

The history of this type with cobalt blue ornament is truly remarkable. We have found at Samarra and Susa strong evidence that it came to them from Rhages, but it was not invented at Rhages; it came thither from remote China.[1] Among the numerous fragments of Chinese pottery discovered in the several fields of excavation in Persia or Mesopotamia, none, it is true, is connected with this series; but several examples are to be found in European collections sent directly from China, and so there is no doubt of the existence in that country under the T'ang dynasty (618-906 A.D.) of pieces of that sort. They are to be seen in the collection of David Weill (Paris); in the home of Mr. Eumorfopoulos (London); and a bowl belonging to Mr. Rücker-Emden (Dresden), of the same group, though decorated in brown, has exactly these commas which we have noticed in our Persian or Mesopotamian fragments. From China to the Tigris is assuredly for a ceramic type a long distance; here it is, thanks to the fragment of Dura, advanced as far as the Euphrates; but nothing proves that this journey ended there and that we shall not soon find it in the diverse French expeditions either in progress or in preparation in upper Syria, as far as the confines of Turkish Asia Minor. Dura is for this type a station that is worthy of note.

[1] Raymond Koechlin, "Chinese Influences in the Musulman Pottery of Susa," *Eastern Art,* No. 1, July, 1928 (Philadelphia).

VII

A RELIEF OF HERCULES FOUND IN A HOUSE OF DURA

BY P. V. C. BAUR

This small relief, which was found last May during the excavation of a house abutting on the west wall of the so-called Interior Redoubt, was concealed by the workmen in the rubbish heap, but was finally recovered and is now in the house of the governor of the region at Deir-ez-Zor (Pl. IV, 3). It is of white marble and measures 0.37 m., total height, by 0.21 m., greatest breadth. The background is rough hewn into the shape of a stele rounded on top.[1] There seems to be sufficient evidence that the relief had been let into the wall of the house in which it was found.

The subject is of interest, and so far as I know unique. A man, entirely nude and brandishing a club in his uplifted right hand, level with his shoulder, is standing in front view with legs rather far apart on the projecting ledge of the stele. The weight of the body rests on the right leg, the left is slightly bent at the knee with the foot drawn back. The left forearm projects, but the hand is missing. At his left a lion stands upright on its hind paws which are carved on the edge of the ledge so that its body extends considerably beyond the man; the tail is modeled on the left flank. I have not seen the original, and the photograph is so poor that it is impossible to know whether the man is bearded or not. One gets the impression that the beast is not attacking the man, the forepaws do not touch his body, nor is it at all evident that the man is about to club the lion. Club and lion look more like attributes. It has, however, been taken for granted by M. Pillet that the group refers to Heracles and the Nemean lion.

The style is so mediocre that it is impossible to give an exact date. It seems to be the product of a local artisan belonging to the end of the second century of our era.

If the relief were an illustration of the labor of Heracles against the Nemean lion it would be natural to suppose that one of the well-known types would have been adopted by the artisan. Let us, therefore, turn for

[1] For a similarly shaped stele of the second century A.D., see Reinach, *Répertoire des Reliefs*, II, 97, 2.

a moment to the known types of Heracles and the Nemean lion.[1] In the sixth century B.C. two types occur; either the nude Heracles kneeling and attacking the lion which is down on all fours, or the nude Heracles standing and choking with his arms and hands the lion which also stands upright on its hind paws. The first type is rarely found in Roman times, but the second occurs with but slight variation very frequently down to the end of the second century A.D. In all examples of this second type the lion is defending itself, either by tearing at the head of the hero, or by clawing his body. The type in which the lion is already slain and is dragged along by one of its hind paws does not concern us here. On the reliefs of Roman sarcophagi[2] it is with one exception only the above-mentioned second type that occurs; Heracles is usually beardless and his club is not in his hand, but is represented as lying on the ground. It is noteworthy that not only on the reliefs of the Roman sarcophagi—they are of the second century A.D.—but also on all other kinds of reliefs of the Roman imperial period Heracles, without club, is in profile view facing the lion, which vigorously defends itself by clawing the hero.[3]

In the relief from Dura, to come back to it, the hero holds the club. He is not facing the lion, nor does the lion defend itself, but stands there more like an attribute to assist in the identification of the nude man. Elsewhere I do not know of such a type. It is quite certain then that the relief does not represent the labor of Heracles with the Nemean lion, but for all that the hero of our relief may, nevertheless, be Heracles.

That it may represent Melkart-Heracles is possible, though I cannot advance evidence. In the time of Gordian III Melkart-Heracles occurs on coins of Tyre, but with club and lion's skin in the left hand and sacrificing at an altar.[4] In the grouping of the relief found at Dura Melkart-Heracles does not seem to occur.

There is, however, another alternative, which I advance only as a theory. I have been led to this by the following considerations. In the first place, the relief has been found in a private house let into the wall of one of the rooms. Secondly, the shape of the relief and its position

[1] See Furtwängler, in Roscher, *Lexikon der griech. und röm. Mythologie,* I, 2 cols. 2195 ff.

[2] Robert, *Die Antiken Sarkophag-Reliefs,* III, Pls. XXXI-XXXIV, XXXVII-XXXIX.

[3] See Reinach, *Répertoire des Reliefs,* III, 30, 3; 75, 1; 168, 5; 169, 1; 309, 4, etc.

[4] Brit. Mus. Cat., *Phoenicia,* p. 281, No. 427, and Pl. XXXIII, 13.

seem to indicate that it was a household shrine. Thirdly, it evidently belongs to the end of the second century A.D., and may well date to the time of Commodus. In the imperial period the worship of Hercules Augustus as *comes* and *conservator* of the Emperor is a well-known fact.[1] Now Commodus, toward the end of his reign, went a step farther in that he posed as Hercules and allowed himself to be worshiped as such. Statues which represented him as Hercules (*Lucius Commodus Hercules*) were not only erected, but also worshiped. The legend on his coins, *Herculi Commodo Aug.* no doubt refers to the Emperor himself. On a rare coin of Commodus, offered for sale last June, Hercules stands in the same pose as on the relief found at Dura, and holds the club in his right hand, but the lion's skin, instead of the lion, fills the space at his left.[2] Would it then, with all this evidence in mind, be too bold to see in the relief from Dura Hercules Commodianus worshiped in the home of an admirer of that emperor as his patron saint?

[1] See R. Peter, in Roscher, *Lexikon,* I, 2 cols. 2980 ff., and for Commodus, cols. 2987 ff.; Haug, in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertums-Wissenschaft,* VIII, cols. 580 ff. Rostovtzeff, *Journal of Roman Studies,* XIII (1923), 97 ff.

[2] Hirsch, Sale Catalogue No. XIII, 1928, *Monnaies Grecques et Romaines,* No. 1358, Pl. 42. The same, not so well preserved, Mattingly, *Journal of Roman Studies,* XIII (1923), Pl. VII, 8. (Paris) p. 109, No. 23. In addition to the lion's skin which hangs over his arm, he holds the bow. See also M. Bernhart, *Handbuch zur Münzkunde der römischen Kaiserzeit,* Pl. 45, 8.

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